ASIATIC PAPERS

PART II

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B. A.

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ASIATIC PAPERS

PART II

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE
BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.,

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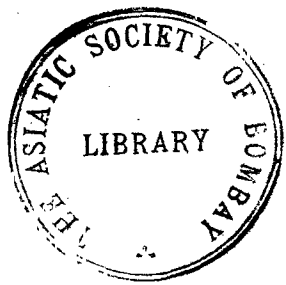

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THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF THE PARSEES.

A CATECHISM OF THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.

THE NAÔJÔTE CEREMONY OF THE PARSEES.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY OF THE PARSEES.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG THE PARSEES, THEIR COMPARISON WITH SIMILAR CUSTOMS OF OTHER NATIONS.

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THE PARSEES AT THE COURT OF AKBAR AND DASTUR MEHERJI RANA.

ÂÎYÂDGAR-Î-ZARÎRAN, SHATRÔÎHA-Î-AÎRAN, VA AFDYA VA SAHÎGÎYA-Î-SISTÂN, *i.e.*, The Memoir of Zarir, Cities of Iran, and the Wonders and Marvels of Seistan (Pahlavi Translations, Part I. Texts in Gujarati character, with English and Gujarati translations and notes).

JAMASPÎ (Pahlavi Translations, Part, III, Pahlavi Pazend and Persian texts with tarnslations).

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જરથોશ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાંચેલો, ભાગ બીજો (Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects, Part II).

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જરથોશ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાંચેલો, ભાગ પાંચમો (Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects, Part V).

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શાહનામાની સુંદરીઓ (Heroines of the Shah-nâmeh).

મુકતાદના દિવસો કેટલા છે? તે બાબેની પેહેલવી, પાજંદ, ફારસી વિગેરે પુસ્તકોને આધારે તપાસ (An Inquiry from Pahlavi, Pazend, Persian and other works on the subject of the Number of Days of the Fravardegan).

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WORKS EDITED BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.

The Pahlavi Mâdigân-i-Hazâr Dâdistân.

K. R. Cama Masonic Jubilee Volume.

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Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume.

To

THE HON'BLE SIR JOHN HEATON,

VICE-PRESIDENT, B. E. R. A. SOCIETY (1909-1912),

PRESIDENT (1912—APRIL 1917),

IN RECOGNITION

OF

HIS ENCOURAGEMENT TO, AND APPRECIATION OF

MY LITERARY WORK

BEFORE THE SOCIETY AND ELSEWHERE.

Maçoudi on Volcanoes.

(*Read 26th April* 1906.)

Introduction.

While studying for my lecture on "Mount Vesuvius and my visit to that mountain in 1889" delivered before the Dnyán Prasârak Society on Tuesday, the 17th instant, I looked into some of the Eastern authors, to see if they gave any description of volcanoes. In Firdousi we find no regular description of volcanoes. It is in Maçoudi that we find a description of some of the volcanoes of the world. Modern European scientific writers on the subject of volcanoes have given references to the writings of the classical authors who have alluded to the subject; but, as far as I know, they have not referred to Maçoudi. The object of this short paper is to collect Maçoudi's references to some of the volcanoes of the world, as it may be of some interest and importance to vulcanologists to know what an Arab writer of the 10th century said of this grand phenomenon of nature.

Maçoudi's age.

Abou'l Hasan Ali, surnamed Maçoudi from one of his ancestors, flourished in the first half of the 10th century after Christ. He was born in Bagdâd and travelled through Persia and India and went even to the Malay Peninsula and to the Chinese seas. He travelled also in Egypt. So, what he says of the volcanoes, especially of the Asiatic volcanoes, seems to be the result of his own observations. The book, in which he has embodied his observations and the result of his studies, is known as Maruj ul Zahab va Ma'din ul Johar (مروج الذهب ومعادن الجوهر), *i.e.*, the Meadows of Gold and the Mines of Jewels. Maçoudi has written in Arabic and I give his description of the volcanoes from the translation of the work in French by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille.

Java volcanoes.

I. The first reference to volcanoes by Maçoudi is in the 16th chapter which treats of seas and their peculiarities.[1] He gives the following description of a mountain in the most distant parts of the islands situated in the sea of China :—

"From these mountains emanates a continuous fire, of which the flames, which are red during the day and blackish at night, rise

[1] Vol. I., p. 212.

so high that they reach the clouds. These eruptions are accompanied with sounds of the most terrible thunder. Often there emanates from it a strange and frightful voice announcing the death of a king or simply of a chief according as it is more or less resonant. There are those who can distinguish this perfectly, being instructed in this matter by a long experience which never makes mistakes. These mountains form part of the large volcanoes of the earth. Not far from these is an island, in which one hears continuously the echo of the sound of drums, flutes, lutes and of every kind of instrument, of sweet and agreeable voices, and also of harmonious steps and clapping of hands. On lending an attentive ear, one distinguishes clearly all the sounds without confounding them. The mariners who have voyaged on these sea-coasts say that it is there that the Dajâl (دجال), *i.e.*, the Antichrist, has fixed his abode."

Now, which are the volcanoes that Maçoudi here refers to as being situated in the sea of China? It appears that they form the volcanoes of Java and Sumatra. Of the great volcanic lines described by Prof. Anstead in his Physical Geography, "the most active is," as he says, "that of Java and Sumatra, separating the China Sea from the Indian Ocean."[1] He adds further on, that "the islands near the Malay Peninsula, commencing with the Andaman group and the Nicobar Islands, and extending through Sumatra, into Java are all volcanic, and the volcanic force attains there the condition of intense energy. Along the whole length of Java, the volcanic mountains are so close that it is difficult to distinguish between the various groups. This is the case for at least 700 miles. In this Island, the volcanoes range from 5,000 to 13,000 feet in height above the sea."[2]

So, when Maçoudi speaks of the mountains in plural (جبال) and of their flames as "a continuous fire, rising so high that they reach the clouds," it seems clear that he refers to this volcanic belt of great activity in Java. He refers to this belt of volcanoes once more, as we shall see later on, in the 17th chapter,[3] where he speaks of the volcanic belts of the Caucasus and of the Mediterranean. There he remarks that "of all the volcanoes of the world, the most remarkable for its terrible sounds, for its whirlwinds of black smoke and for its frequent eruptions is that which lies in the kingdom of the Mahârâjâ." This is a reference to the group of volcanoes at Java and Sumatra which were then ruled over by a Mahârâjâ.

[1] Physical Geography by Prof. David T. Anstead (Fifth Edition, 1871), p. 326.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 332-33.

[3] Maçoudi, Vol. II, p. 26.

There is one other casual reference to this group in Maçoudi which shows, that it is the volcanoes of Java to which he refers. In the 35th chapter of his book[1], while speaking of the Franks (*i.e.*, the Firangis or the Europeans) he refers to the Island of Sicily and to its volcanoes, and then says, that he has elsewhere referred to the volcano of Zâbej in the China Sea (اطم بلاد الزابج من بحر الصين) *i.e.*, the volcano of the city of Zâbej in the sea of Sin, *i.e.*, Chin or China). Barbier de Meynard takes this Zâbej to be the same as modern Java.

Strange noises from volcanoes.

There are several other points in Maçoudi's description which require observation.

1. Maçoudi speaks of the eruption of these mountains as "accompanied with sounds of the most terrible thunder." The last eruption of one of these mountains, the most terrible eruption that we have ever had in our times, was that of Krakatoa in 1883, which caused the death of about 36,000 people. The sound of that eruption was heard at a distance of about 3,000 miles.

2. Maçoudi then refers to "a strange and frightful voice announcing the death of a king or simply of a chief, according as it is more or less resonant." Superstitious effects of this kind on minds terrified to the extreme are not rare even in our times, whether in the East or in the West.

3. Maçoudi refers to "the sound of drums, flutes, lutes and of every kind of instrument, of sweet and agreeable voices and also of harmonious steps and clapping of hands." Now, all this is due to what are called "rhythmical puffs and bursts" which occur at regular intervals of a few seconds, and which are observed even in the case of the eruptions of Vesuvius as referred to by Dr. Phillips in his work on Vesuvius.[2] Dion Cassius, who wrote about 230 A.D., while describing the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D., notes the tradition that he was acquainted with, and says "a blast, as if of trumpets, was heard."[3]

Volcano and Hell.

4. The last observation of Maçoudi, in his description of this extreme-east volcano which requires attention is the statement of the mariners, that "it is there that the Dajâl (دجال) has fixed his abode." Now, who is this Dajâl? Dajâl generally means "an impostor, a liar." Barbier De Meynard translates the word as "Antichrist." So, if we assume that the mariners referred to a particular class of *dajâls* or liars, *viz.*, those who did not acknowledge Christ as Messiah, it follows that the mariners referred to were Christian seamen, who took these volcanoes to be the seat of Hell itself and thus

[1] Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, &c., Vol. III, p. 68.
[2] Vesuvius, by John Phillips, p. 145.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 27.

the seat of those who did not believe in the mission of Christ. This allusion then indirectly shows that in the 10th century trade flourished between the Christian countries of Europe and the sea-coast towns of China.

Now, the allusion to these volcanoes as the seat of Hell, or as the seat of the punishment of the sinful, is natural. The first impression upon my mind, when I stood at the edge of the crater of Vesuvius on 28th July 1889, and when I heard the terrible and frightful sounds from within, with the occasional showers of stone that rose from it, was that of Hell. I have noted the first impression in my note-book there and then, thus "અરે! અવાજો, દોજખનાં!" *i.e.*, "Oh! the sounds! They are of Hell."

It is possible, that many a religious writer has conceived a part of his picture of Hell from what he himself saw and heard at a volcano or from what he heard of it from others.

Mount Vesuvius, the recent eruption of which has suggested to me the subject of this paper, is even now spoken of by some as a Hell. The city of Naples, the natural beauty of which has given rise to the saying "*Vedi Napoli e poi mori*," *i.e.*, "See Naples and then die," is said to be "a paradise as seen from hell," because we see Naples at its best from the top of Vesuvius, which in itself is, as it were, a hell.

That part of Sicily in which Mount Etna is situated is called Valle Demone, because popular tradition believed that the inside of the volcano was a region of demons.

Maçoudi says that these islands were ruled over by a Mahârâjâ. This points to the fact of the spread of Hinduism from India into the East, and of the influence of India.

II. The second important reference by Maçoudi to a set of volcanoes is in his 17th Chapter.[1] Here, he at first refers to the mountains of the Caucasus. Then he refers to Baku as the principal place of naphtha, especially of black naphtha, which, he says, is only found there. He then proceeds to say: "In the land occupied by the sources of the naphtha there is a volcano or a source of fire, the eruptions of which never cease and which emits at all times jets of flames high into air. In front of this portion of the coast are situated several islands. One of them, about 3 days' voyage from the mainland, contains a great volcano. At certain times of the year its sides roar and emit flames which rise in the air to the height of steep mountains and throw in the sea a vivid light which is seen from the mainland, from a distance of about 100 farsangs. This volcano can be compared to that of Jabel al-Bourkân (جبل البركان) situated

Caucasian and Arabian groups.

[1] Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, &c., II, pp. 25—27.

in Sicily which forms a part of the country of the Franks and is situated near Africa in the west. Of all the volcanoes of the world, the most remarkable for its terrible sounds, for its whirlwinds of black smoke and for its frequent eruptions is that which lies in the kingdom of the Mahârâjâ. It is necessary to place in the second rank the volcano of the valley of Barhout (برهوت) which rises not far from the country of Asfâr (اسفار) and of Hadramaut (حضرموت) in the territory of Assheher (الشحر) between Yemen and Oman. One hears it grumbling like thunder at the distance of several miles. It ejects embers as large as mountains and pieces of black rock, which, after being thrown into the air where they are seen from a great distance, fall back immediately into the crater or round about it. The embers which the volcano throws out are only the stones which have been melted into lava under the pungent action of heat."

In this long passage he refers to two belts of volcanic activity.

1. The Caucasus group. While referring to this belt, he casually refers (*a*) to the Java group already referred to, and to the volcano of Sicily, which he calls Jabal at Barkan.

2. The Arabian group, which is spoken of as the volcanoes of the Valley of Barhout near Hadramaut (Hazramaut), a province in Arabia referred to in the Genesis (Chap. X, 26).

Now, of the first group in this passage, *viz.*, the Caucasus group, Professor Ansted says : " Many of the high peaks in the Taurus chain and Mount Elburz itself, the giant of the Caucasus, are volcanic in their origin ; but they certainly cannot fairly be ranked as among existing volcanoes, active in the modern period."[1]

Of Mount Demavend, a lofty peak of the Elbourz, Dr. Edward Hull[2] says : " Mount Demavend, in Persia, which rises to an elevation of 18,464 feet near the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, a volcanic mountain of the first magnitude, is now extinct or dormant."[3]

Zoroastrian idea of Hell from a Caucasian volcano.

We said above, that it is from the volcanoes that many religious writers seem to have got their conceptions of Hell. It seems that later Zoroastrian writers seem to have taken their conception of Hell from a volcano of this Caucasus group. In the Bundehesh[4] we read " Albourz kuf Arzur grivak chekâti pavan babâ-i-duzakhu munash hamvâr shaêdaân dvârashniya temman

[1] Anstead's Physical Geography, p. 330.

[2] Volcanoes Past and Present, by Edward Hull, (1892), p. 24.

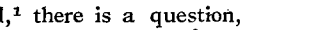
[3] " This mountain was ascended in 1837 by Mr. Taylor Thomson, who found the summit covered with sulphur, and from a cone, fumes, at a high temperature, issued forth, but there was no eruption." Journal, Royal Geographical Society, Vol. VIII, p. 109. (Volcanoes Past and Present, by E. Hall, p. 24, n. 1.)

[4] *Vide* S. B. E., Vol. V., Chap. XII, 8. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 38.

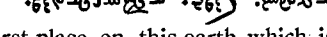
vâdunend," *i.e.*, "The narrow summit of Arzur of the Elbourz Mountain is a summit on the gate of Hell where the demons always meet."

Now, this passage shows, that Arzura (Arezura), one of the Elbourz mountains, is considered to be the gate of Hell, the seat of the demons, *i.e.*, of the sinful. It appears, then, that one of the volcanic mountains of the Caucasus group suggested to the Zoroastrian writer his conception of Hell.

In the Vendidad,[1] there is a question,



i.e., which is the first place on this earth which is the most grieved ? The reply is



i.e., it is the summit of Arezura. The demons and the devil run out of the pit.

Now, from what we know of volcanoes, we can clearly understand why Mount Arezura is considered to be the worst place on the surface of the earth. The suffocating stink and smoke render it so. Again, the allusion to its being the seat of demons and of the devil is clear. We shall see, later on, that Italian tradition, as noted by Dion Cassius, has pointed out Vesuvius also as a mountain from which rush forth giants and extraordinary forms.

Again, in another part of the Vendidad[2], the demons are spoken of as rushing out of the Arezur with shouts. They think of carrying away Zoroaster to that place. The reference to the shouts indicates that the mountain is a volcano.

The second group in the above passage of Maçoudi, *viz.*, the Arabian group, is also referred to by Prof. Anstead as a volcanic group. He says: "Syria, the Holy Land, and Arabia, all exhibit volcanic phenomena of a very direct nature."[3]

III. The third long reference to volcanoes by Maçoudi is in the 35th Chapter[4], entitled "The Franks and the Galiciens." The passage runs as follows :—

"The Franks possessed also the countries of Africa and Sicily. We have already spoken of these islands and in particular of the island which is known under the name of Al Borkan. It is a source of fire from which come out enflamed figures resembling bodies of men, but without

[1] Chapter III, 7.

[2] Chapter XIX, 44-45.

[3] Anstead's Physical Geography, p. 330.

[4] Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, III, pp. 67—69.

heads which rise high in the air during the night to fall back afterwards into the sea. These are stones with which they lustre and polish the paper of account books. They are light, white and assume the form of a honey-comb or the models of dinars of small diameter. This volcano is known under the name of the Volcano of Sicily. . . . . We have spoken also of all the volcanoes of the earth such as the volcano of Wadi-Berhout in Hadramaut and the country of Al Sheher ; the Volcano of Zabej of (زابج) (*i. e.*, Java) in the Chinese Sea ; the Volcano of Esk (Eskibun) between Fars and Ahwaz in the dependency of the city of Arrajan (ارّجان) which forms a part of Fars. The fires of this last volcano are seen at night from a distance of about 20 farsangs and they are well-known in all the Musalman countries. The word *atimah* (اطمّة) means properly a source of fire which bursts out of the earth. We will not speak in this volume of hot springs of sulphur and vitriol nor of the springs of hot water from which burst out flames arising from *atimah* (volcano) in the country of Mâçabadan (ماسبذان) in the dependency of Arrajân and Sîrwân and known under the name of Naumân. It is an extraordinary volcano which water cannot extinguish nor fight against in any manner. So powerful is its incandescence and such vivacity have its flames that it passes for one of the wonders of the world."

In this long passage Maçoudi refers to the following volcanoes :—

1. Etna, the volcano of Sicily.
2. The volcano of Wadi Berhout in Hadramaut and the country of Alshahar, *i. e.*, the volcanoes of the Arabian group.
3. The volcano of Java.
4. The volcano of Esk (Eskibun) between Fars and Ahwaz in the country of Pars.

We have already referred to the second and the third in the list.

Etna. The first volcanic mountain referred to here is the well-known mountain of Etna in Sicily.

The following statement in the description of this valcano attracts one's special attention. Maçoudi says : " It is a source of fire from which come out enflamed bodies (اجسام من النار) resembling bodies of men but without head which rise high in the air during the night to fall back afterwards to the sea." Maçoudi also refers to this casually in Chapter XII[1] where he says that this volcano throws out " fires accompanied by bodies" (النار و فيها اجسم). Compare with this the following version of the Vesuvius eruption of A.D. 79 by Dion Cassius, who wrote in about 230 A.D. He says : " Many

[1] Vol. I, p. 259.

huge men, surpassing human stature, such as the giants are described to have been, appeared wandering in the air and upon the earth at one time frequenting the mountain, at another the fields and cities in its neighbourhood. . . . . Some thought the giants were rising again (for many phantoms of them were seen in the smoke, and a blast as if of trumpets, was heard)."[1]

Thus it appears both from an Arab author and a Roman author that people thought that they saw figures of men rising from the volcanoes high into the air. Don Cassius says that they appeared to hover over cities and fields. Of course, this was due to all the fantastic shapes which the vapours emanating from the craters assumed. But these statements suggest the idea that perhaps it is from the appearance of such phantoms or fantastical shapes of vapours, added to the terrible sound from within, that the ancients thought that the volcanoes were the localities of Hells where the bodies of the sinful were burnt in suffocating flames and smoke.

Other Arab writers speak of Etna as Jabl-al-nâr (جبل النار), *i.e.*, "the mountain of fire." Modern Sicilians call it 'Mongibello,' a word said to have been made up of *mon* (Italian *monte*, *i.e.*, mountain and *gibello* (Arabic *jebal* (جبل) *i.e.*, a mountain). Thus this word, both parts of which mean a mountain, is made up partly of an Italian and partly of an Arabic word.

I do not understand why Maçoudi calls the island of Sicily and the volcano El-Borkân (البركان). At first sight, we may think that it means the mountain of 'bark,' *i.e.*, lightning. (برق). But then the word is spelt with *kaf-i-kaliman* and not *quarashat.*

The next volcano referred to in the above passage is that of Esk (Eskibun). We do not find any special reference to this volcano in any of our books on physical geography or vulcanology. But we know that there is a band of mountains in Persia which may be called, both for its volcanic and seismic energy, an energetic band. This is a volcano of that band between Pars and Ahwaz at Ask, which is a place near Arrajân.

Volcano of Esk.

Lastly, Maçoudi refers to the hot springs of sulphur, vitriol and hot water in the province of Arrajan and Sirwan. Professor Anstead thus refers to this region of seismic activity. "From the Gulf of Scanderoon, by Aleppo and Mosul, to Lake Van, and the south of Ararat to Shirvan and Baku, on the Caspian, there is another wide and energetic band, probably joining the Caucasus, and connected with the occasionally disturbed districts of the Oural."[2]

[1] Vesuvius, by Dr. John Phillips (1869). pp. 26-27.

[2] Physical Geography, p. 350.

The Date of the Death of Nizami.

(*Read 26th April* 1906.)

Introduction.

According to M. Mohl, Nizami was the first of the Persian poets, who after the decadence of the Epic literature, inaugurated by Firdousi, (A.D. 941-1020) brought the historical romance into fashion. [1] One of his Persian biographers, Doulat Shah, as pointed out by Ousley, says of him, in his "Memoirs of the Poets," that "it is impossible for either tongue or pen to describe his sanctity, his excellence, or his science." [2]

Nizami is best known for his "Five Poems" known as the Khamseh (خمسه), *i.e.*, 'the five' and also as the Panj Ganj, *i.e.*, 'the five treasuries.' These five poems are—

1. Makhzan-u'l-Asrâr (مخزن الاسرار), *i.e.*, the Treasury of Secrets.
2. Khusru and Shirin.
3. Laili and Majnun.
4. Haft Paikar (هفت پیکر), *i.e.*, the Seven Portraits.
5. The Sikandar-Nameh, *i.e.*, the Book of Alexander.

Of these five, three,—the second, fourth and fifth poems,—treat of historical romances, in which kings Khusru (Chosroes II) and Behram Gour (Behram V) of the Sassanian dynasty and Sikandar (Alexander the Great) who overthrew the Achemenian dynasty are the principal heroes.

Just as Firdousi had a host of imitators, who tried to imitate his Shâhnâmeh and wrote poems like Burzo-nâmeh, Frâmroz-nâmeh, Kersâsp-nâmeh, Bânu-Goshasp-nâmeh, Sâm-nâmeh, Jehângier-nâmeh, and Bahman-nâmeh, so, Nizami had several imitators of his Khamseh. The most well-known of these imitators was Amir Khusro.

[1] "Le premier qui mit à la mode le roman historique fut Nizami (né l'an 513 et mort l'an 576 de l'hègire)." Le Livre des Rois, small edition, Preface, p. LXXXII.

[2] Biographical Notices of Persian poets by Sir Gore Ousley (1846), p. 43.

Nizami's muscle.

Nizami is known to have been a poet who sought retirement and a solitary life in the latter part of his life. Dault Shah describes the following story of his miraculous powers in his retirement :—

اتابک قزل ارسلان را آرزوي صحبت شيخ بودي و
بطلب شيخ کس فرستاد نمودند که شيخ منزويست و
بسلاطين و حکام صحبت نميدارد اتابک آرزوي امتحان
بديدن شيخ رفت شيخ ازروي کرامت دانست که
آرزوي امتحان ميايد و بچشم حقارت بشيخ مينگرد
شيخ از عالم غيب شمئه بچشم اتابک نمود اتابک ديد
(1)
تخت بادشاهانه نهاده‌اند از جواهر وکبرياسي ديد که صد هزار
چاکر وسپاهي و تجمل پادشاهانه و غلامان باکمر مرصّع و حاجبان
و ند معان برپاي ايستاده و شيخ پادشاهانه بر تخت نشسته
چو چشم اتابک بر آن عظمت و شوکت افتاد مبهوت شد
وازروي تواضع ميخواست که قدم شيخ را بوسه دهد [2]

TRANSLATION.—Atâbak Kazal Arslân desired to see the Shaikh (Nizami). He sent somebody to call the Shaikh. They made him understand that the Shaikh is one who seeks solitude and does not keep the company of Sultans and rulers. Then Atâbak went to see the Shaikh with a view to examine (whether his retirement was real or only feigned). The Shaikh by virtue of his miraculous powers came to know that he (the king) came with a view to examine him (and not with the real desire of seeing him) and that he looked towards him with an eye of contempt. The Shaikh shewed to Atâbak a portrait (of his miraculous power) of the unseen world. Atâbak saw that a royal throne was placed there adorned with jewels and royal splendour. He (further) saw that 100,000 servants and soldiers and royal splendour and slaves decked with jewelled belts and chamberlains and attendants all were waiting upon him and the Shaikh was sitting in a royal fashion upon the throne. When the eyes of Atâbak fell upon such a splendour and pomp he was astonished and wished to kiss the feet of the Shaikh by way of respect.

[1] يا سا a royal mandate.

[2] Khan Saheb Mirza Mohammed Shirazi's Bombay edition of Tazkarat-al Shu'ara (*i.e.*, Memoirs of Poets) by Doulat Shah, p. 60, l. 3.

It is no wonder, that the date of the death of such a person, who had ended his life in retirement, and around whose old age a halo of a miraculous sanctity had spread, has not been certain and is variously stated. Many known authors differ on this point. The object of this short paper is to determine the date of his death on the authority of an old manuscript of the poet's Sikandar-nâmeh or the book of the life of Alexander. This manuscript was one of the old manuscripts that I exhibited at the Exhibition held in our City in December 1904 in connection with the Indian National Congress.

Dr. Wilhelm Bacher, in his history of Persian literature, published in 1871, says: "The statements which are contained in Oriental sources as to the year of Nizami's death diverge, in their extreme limits, more than twenty years, and unhappily European authors have inclined to that side which, according to what follows, is submitted as the incorrect account. Daulet Shah, in his biography, which gives only very scanty and quite insufficient notices with regard to our poet, says, that Nizami died in some month of the year 576 of the Hejra. This date has been adopted by Haji Khalifa also, in one place; whilst in other places of his Dictionary he has named quite different dates, *viz.*, twice A. H. 596, once 597, and finally 599. Now the first-named date, A. H. 576, is the one which has been adopted by the most eminent writers. So Von Hammer, in his history of Persian polite literature, and Von Erdman, who yet expressly adds, that Haji Khalfa incorrectly says that Nizami died A. H. 597. Flügel, in his account of Persian literature, names likewise the year 576.[1]"

M. Mohl. also, as quoted above, gives 576, as the date of Nizami's death.

Dr. Bacher himself gives the date as 599 Hijri.[2] Dr. Hermann Ethé [3] also gives the date as 599 Hijri (1203 A. D.). Ousley[4] gives the year as 597 Hijri (1200 A. D).

Dr. Charles Rieu, in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, (1881, Vol II., p. 564*b*) says: "Most conflicting statements have been made regarding the date of Nizami's death. Daulat Shah gives A. H. 576, the Atashkadah A.H. 586, the Jahânârâ A.H. 597, Haji. Khal A.H. 596, the Subh-i-Sâdik A.H. 602, and Taki Kâshî A.H. 606." Dr. Rieu himself determines the date to be A.H. 598 or 599 (*Ibid.* p. 565*a*.).

[1] "Persian Poetry for English Readers" by Robinson (1883), pp. 109-110.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[3] Article on Nizami in the Encyclopædia Brittanica, 9th edition, Vol. 17, p. 522, col. 2.

[4] Biographical Notices of Persian Poets (1846), p. 48.

Dr. Bacher arrives at the date of Nizami's death in the following way:—

In his Laila and Majnun, Nizami says[1]:

بر جلوهٔ این عروس آزاد — آباد تر آنکه گوید آباد
کار استه شد به بهترین حال — در سلخ رجب ثی و فی دال
تاریخ عیان که داشت با خود — هشتاد و چهار بعد پانصد

Robinson[2] thus renders these verses on the authority of Bacher's German translation :—

"Bravo ! on the unveiling of this lovely bride !
Bravo ! for him that exclaims 'Well done !'
It was brought to completion under the happiest auspices,
In the month of Rajab, and the letters *Thee* and *Fee* and *Dal*.
The precise date which it brought with it was eighty and four and five[3] hundred."

This gives 584 Hijri as the date of the completion of Laila and Majnun.

Now Nizami was 49 years of age at this time. This appears from the following couplet in the Introduction of the Laila and Majnun :—

زان سحر سحر گهی کرانم
مجموعهٔ هفت سبع خوانم[4]

i.e, "From this morning enchantment in which I live, (*i.e.*, my life), I have already read off the sum of seven sevens."[5]

Another similar couplet in the Introduction of the Laila and Majnun says the same thing. It says :

"Whether thou hast read off only seven sevens.
"Or whether thou hast existed for seven thousand."[6]

These couplets then show, that when Nizami wrote, in 584 Hijri, his Laili and Majnun, he was 49 years of age. Thus he was born in 535 Hijri.

Now a glossarist or a commentator who seems to have latterly collected the Quintuple or Five-books,[7] has given the following verses,

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[1] Bombay edition of 1265 Hijri of Nizami's Khamseh, 3rd Jald, p. 9, couplets 35 & 37 end of the Chapter on سبب نظم کتاب

[2] Persian Poetry for English Readers (1883, p. 111).

[3] Robinson gives by mistake 400. This is evidently a mistake, because the numerical value of *Thee* ث is 500. So ث and ف and د give 500+80+4=584.

[4] Quoted by Dr. C. Rieu, British Museum Catalogue, p. 564B.

[5] Robinson's Persian Poetry, p. 112.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] The Sikandar-nâmeh is written in two parts, one of which is called Sikandar-nâmeh-i Bahri. So some include the two parts as two poems of the Khamseh, and keep out "Khusru and Shirin."

of his own composition, on the death of Nizami at the end of his Sikandar-nâmeh:—

نظامي چو اين داستان شد تمام — بعزم شدن نيز برداشت گام
نه بس روزگاري بر اين بر گذشت — كه تاريخ عمرش ورق در نوشت
بد فزون بود شش مه ز شصت و سه سال — كه بر عزم ره بر دهل زد دوال [1]

(Quoted by Dr. C. Rieu in the British Museum Catalogue, p. 564B–565A.)

"When Nizami had completed this narrative,
He lifted up his foot with the purpose of setting out on his journey;
Nor did much time pass after this
Before the chronicle of his life was rolled up:
Six months were added to sixty and three years,
When he beat on the drum the signal of departure:" [2]

According to this glossarist, then, Nizami died shortly after the completion of his Sikandar-nâmeh referred to by him, and he was 64 years (63 years and 6 months) of age at that time. So, if, in 584 Hijri, he was 49 years of age, it follows that 15 years later, *i.e.*, at the age of 64, when he died, the Hijri year was (584+15)=599.

Conflicting dates of his death.

Thus we have the following dates of the death of the poet, as given by different authors :—

	Hijri.
Doulat Shah	576
Haji Khalfa	576, 596, 597, 599
Âtashkadah	586
Jahan Ârâ	596
Subh-i-Sâdik	602
Tâkt-i-kashi	606
Von Hammer	576
Von Erdman	576
Flügel	576
M. Mohl.	576
Dr. Bacher	599
Dr. H. Ethé	599
Sir G. Ousley	597
Dr. Charles Rieu	598 or 599

[1] The Khamsah is also called پنج گنج (Panj ganj), *i.e.*, the five treasures. Of the two parts of the Sikandar-nâmeh, above referred to, the first is sometimes called "Sherf-nâmeh Iskandari" (*i.e.*, the book describing the glory of Alexander). It is also called Sikandar-nâmeh Beri (بري) *i.e.*, of the continent. The second part is called Skindar-nâmeh Beheri (*i.e.*, of the sea) and also Akbâl-nâmeh Sikandari.

[2] Robinson's Persian Poetry, p. 113.

Now Bacher, whom we have followed in the words of his translator Robinson, has, as shown above, determined the date of the death of Nizami, not on the authority of the author himself, but on the authority of a later glossarist, who gives the age of the author when he completed the Sikander-nâmeh. Bacher seems to believe that the author himself has not given the date of the composition of the Sikandar-nâmeh. He says, "It remains still to settle with regard to the Alexander-Book (Sikandar-nâmeh), the time of its composition, which Nizami does not directly give."[1]

The correct date.

I now produce, for the inspection of members, an old manuscript,[2] about 300 years old, of a poem of Nizami known as the Sikander-nâmeh or the book of Alexander. At the end (last page) of this Sikander-nâmeh, as given in this old manuscript, Nizami himself gives the date of the composition of this poem. As far as I know, no author who has treated the subject of the date of Nizami's death has referred to these lines. Nizami says:

خجسته همیشه چو سرو جوان — بماناد در بزم شاه جهان

بتاریخ[3] پانصد نود هفت سال — که خواننده روز نگیرد ملال

سر سال چهارم[4] محرم بدست — ز ساعت گذشته چهارم بدست

Translation—May the king of the world be always blessed in his assembly like a young cypress. In order that the reader may not be tired, on the date of the year 597, in the beginning of the year, on the 4th (day) of (the month of) Moharam[5] when the 4th hour had passed.

These couplets then clearly point out that Nizami was alive in the year 597 Hijri, and so, all the dates previous to this, generally given as the date of his death, cannot be correct. Then, as Nizami, according to the above glossarist, died shortly after finishing his Sikander-nâmeh, the date of his death comes to about 597 Hijri.

Now, when we speak of Nizami, as finishing his Sikander-nâmeh in 597, we must understand by that, the completion of the second

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 113.

[2] The manuscript belongs to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwalla of Bombay, of whom I have often spoken in this room as a fortunate possessor of many old Oriental manuscripts. Comparing this old manuscript with a lithographed copy of Nizami's Khamsah, I find that about 300 couplets are lost in the beginning.

[3] The first part of the 2nd couplet occurs in verses "quoted in the Haft-Asmân, but which the author thinks to be of doubtful authenticity." Dr. C. Rieu's catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. II, p. 568*b*.

[4] چهارم = جهارم

[5] Moharam is the 1st month of the year.

recension of that work. He had written the work long before. As pointed out by Bacher,[1] it was in 587 that he had written it.

Dr. Ethe says on this subject: "As for the date of composition, it is evident, from the conflicting statements in the different manuscripts, that there must have been an earlier and a later recension, the former belonging to 587-589 and dedicated to the Prince of Mosul, Izz-uddin Masud, the latter made for the atâbeg Nusratuddin Abu Bakr of Tabriz, after 593 A.H., since we find in it a mention of Nizami's last romance Haft-paikar or 'The Seven Beauties,' which comprises the seven tales related by the seven favourite wives of the Sassânian king Bahrâmgur." (Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVII, p. 522, Col. 2).

Now, our manuscript is the second recension, because we find Prince Nasruddin referred to therein. In the end,[2] we read:

ولایت ستان شاه گیتي پناه — فریدون کمر بلک خاقان کلاه

ملک نصرة الدین که از داد او — خورد هر کسي باده بریاد او

Translation—The saintly[3] king who protects the world, who has the belt (like that) of Feridun, nay more,[4] who is the owner of an imperial crown,[5] King Nasratuddin, to commemorate whose justice, everybody drinks wine in his honour.

Bacher also refers to a second reduction.[6]

When Nizami first began his Sikandar-nâmeh, he must have passed fifty years of age, because he says in the beginning:—

چو تاریخ پنجه در آمد بسال

شتابنده را شد دگر گونه حال

i.e., when fifty years of age came up, Time (lit. the hastener[7]) has quite a different kind of condition (for me).

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[1] Robinson's Persian Poetry, p. 114.

[2] P. 20; couplet 12.

[3] ولایت ستان the friend of God, saint, lit. one who takes the kingdom.

[4] بلک for بلکه but.

[5] خاقان کلاه owner of an Imperial Crown.

[6] Robinson's Persian Poetry, p. 160.

[7] It may be ستاینده.

The date, 597 Hijri, arrived at by us, on the authority of an old manuscript, is, as pointed out by Dr. C. Rieu,[1] referred to in the following verses from the Sikandar-nâmeh quoted in the Haft-Asman:—

بگفتم من این نامه را دو جهان
که تا دور آخر بود در جهان
بتاریخ پانصد نود هفت سال
چهارم محرم بوقت زوال

Translation—I recited this Nameh in the world, so that it may remain in the world till the end of time, in the year 597 on the 4th of Moharam and at the time of its end.

Now the author of the Haft-Asmân doubts, according to Dr. Rieu, the authenticity of these lines as those of Nizami used in his Sikandar-nâmeh.

The author has reasons to doubt the authenticity of all the lines, because, on comparing the lines given above from our old manuscript, we find that they differ a good deal, but the particular line which gives the date as 597 (بتاریخ پانصد نود هفت سال) is correct.

Dr. C. Rieu adds that the same date is given in some later copies. These facts then point to 597 Hijri as the date of Nizami's death.

The date of the manuscript which I produce to-day, is as given at the very end of the book, Hijri 1012 (A.D. 1603). The second figure, which is zero, is not distinctly visible, but with the aid of a magnifying glass we can see its slight mark. The old manuscript of the Sikandar-nâmeh which Ousley refers[2] to in his memoir of Nizami, is dated A.H. 1021 (A.D. 1612).

Nizami's book had many commentators. I produce here a commentary, which is written in ١١١٥ Hijri (1698 A.D.).

[1] British Museum Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 568 *b*.

[2] Biographical Notices of Persian Poets (1840), p. 48.

Bombay, as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754 A.D.

(*Read 12th October* 1906.)

Dr. E. Eves.

Dr. Edward Ives was a Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy and served in the Mediterranean from 1744 to 1746. Then he served for some years in England. From 1753 to 1757 he was Surgeon of the "Kent," bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Charles Watson, Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. On the Admiral's death in 1757, he retired from service in India and returned home *via* Persian Gulf. He reached England in 1759. He continued on half pay till 1777. He was then superannuated in 1777. He died in 1786. It was in 1773 that he published his book of Travels.[1] The title of the book is rather a very long one. It runs thus:

"A
Voyage from
England to India
In the year MDCCLIV.
And an
Historical Narrative
of

The Operations of the Squadron and Army in India, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, in the years 1755, 1756, 1757; including a correspondence between the Admiral and the Nabob Serajah Dowlah.

Interspersed with

Some interesting passages relating to the manners, customs, &c., of several nations in Indostan

Also, a
Journey from Persia to England
By an unusual route
With
An Appendix

Containing an account of the diseases prevalent in Admiral Watson's squadron; a description of most of the trees, shrubs, and

[1] *Vide* Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XXIX (1892) p. 79.

plants of India, with their real, or supposed, medicinal virtues : Also a copy of a letter written by a late ingenious physician, on the disorders incidental to Europeans at Gombroon in the Gulf of Persia,

Illustrated with a Chart, Maps and other Copper-plates

By Edward Ives, Esq.,
Formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson's ship and
of His Majesty's Hospital in the East Indies.

London.
Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly.

MDCCLXXIII."

I find this book mentioned in the Catalogue of the books of the library of our Society printed in 1875, as " Ives (Edward).—Voyage from England to India, also a Journey from Persia to England, 4to Lond., 1773." It is marked as AA-a-17. But its name bears an asterisk in the printed catalogue, which means that in 1875 the book was either " damaged or missing." I find on inquiry from our librarian that it is missing.

The late Dr. Gerson DaCunha has given us an excellent paper entitled, " The Origin of Bombay." It is published in 1900 as an extra number of the Journal of our Society. Therein, Dr. Ives's book is not referred to. The Bombay Gazetteer[1] refers to this book especially in its account of the Ângriâs.[2] Therein, Dr. Ives's account of the taking of Gheria by Admiral Watson is interpolated in the larger account[3] from Robert Orme.[4] I am not sure if the writer of the Gazetteer has quoted directly from Dr. Ives's book, as I find some discrepancies in the references given.[5] Again Dr. Ives's book is referred to in the Bombay Quarterly Review of 1857.[6] But, I find that, as far as I know Dr. Ives's short account of Bombay is not referred to at any length by any writer, at least on this side of the country. So, the object of this paper is to give a short account of Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754.

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[1] Vol. I, Part II., pp. 88, 93, 94. Vol. X, pp. 381, 382. Vol. XIII, p. 499.

[2] Vol. I, Part II, pp. 87–96.

[3] A History of Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, Vol. I (Fourth Edition of 1799), pp. 407—417.

[4] For the life of this author, *vide* " Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Marattoes, and of the English concerns in Indostan, from the year 1659," by Robert Orme (1805) pp. V—LXVII.

[5] For example (*a*) the Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 93, n. 2. There, the p. 82 referred to in the note does not refer to the matter spoken of. (*b*) The page referred to as p. 82 of Ives on p. 94 of the Gazetteer must be p. 85.

[6] The Bombay Quarterly Review, Vol. V, January and April, 1857, p. 162. Article entitled " An Age of Progress in Bombay."

From his title page, we learn that, though the year of our author's principal visit of Bombay was 1754, the book was published in 1773, *i.e.*, about 19 years afterwards. It was dedicated to Sir Charles Watson, Bart., the son of the Admiral in whose fleet Dr. Ives had served and visited India. The dedication is interesting, as it aims thereby to set before a son, for his improvement, the example of a worthy father. It says: "If what I have written of your excellent Father . . . . shall contribute to your improvement, and set you forward in the paths of virtue, I then shall be beyond measure happy."

Occasion of his voyage.

Our author thus describes the occasion of his voyage:—"Immediately after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, or as soon as our sea and land forces under the command of Admiral Boscawen had left the Indies and were on their return to England, Mons. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, began by his intrigues to show the seeds of dissention among the country princes; and when he had so far succeeded as to set them at variance with one another, he sent a body of European troops into the field, as auxiliaries to those Nabobs who espoused the French interest, and who, by dint of his supply, gained several successive advantages over the other princes who were friends to oru East India Company. Mustapha-Jing, a powerful prince, and Chunda-Saeb, an enterprising general, were those with whom he was principally connected, and whom he made use of as instruments for bringing out his ambitious designs—Designs no less extensive, than of acquiring for his nation an absolute ascendancy over the whole Carnatic and Deccan, and for himself, immortal honour and immense riches. The English presidency were possessed of such convincing proofs of his insatiable avarice, and thirst for power, that they prudently and resolutely determined to exert their utmost abilities in putting a stop to his violent, and hitherto rapid proceedings; for that purpose, they, under the character of allies, joined their forces with the armies of a prince called Nazir-Jing, and of the Nabob of Arcot named Mahomed-Ally, against whom their enemies were now taking the field[1]."

Admiral Watson's flagship "Kent," of which our author was the medical officer, left Spithead for Plymouth, the rendezvous of the fleet, on 22nd February 1754. They left Portsmouth on 9th March and sailed for Cork in Ireland, to take on board from there, the king's troops under command of Col. Adlercron. While sailing to that port they were overtaken by a storm and so

[1] "Ives's Voyage," pp. 1—2.

had to anchor at Kingsale on 12th March. From there he wrote to Col. Adlercron to march to that town with his troops. On the 19th the raging storm disabled two ships of his small fleet of 6 ships, the whole strength of which was altogether 226 guns. The Admiral sailed from Kingsale on the 24th March with only four ships and taking as many troops as he could accommodate. The two disabled ships were ordered to proceed to Plymouth with some more troops who were to proceed to India in some other ships that the Admiralty may prepare to replace the disabled ships. On 6th April, they anchored at Fonchial road of the Island of Madeira, " a place," according to our author, " famous for supplying not only Europe, but all our settlements in both the Indies, with a most excellent wine." We know that the town has not as yet lost the fame, and the " Madeira wine " is still well-known. The price of the wine, at that time, says our author, was from £ 20 to 22 for a pipe (*i.e.*, a cask containing two hogsheads or 126 gallons).

The Portuguese and their Holidays.

The following opinion of our author, regarding the zeal of the Portuguese to observe their holidays, is worth noting, to enable those who are interested in these people to judge if matters have changed. Our author says :—

" Whilst we continued at Madeira, we met with many disagreeable delays in supplying our squadron with wine and other refreshments, on account of the Passion-week, and the carnival that followed it, at which season all business there is at a stand and strangers are sure to be entertained with much gaudy, superstitious mummery. The custom indeed of celebrating this festival with a great deal of religious pageantry, is observed in all Popish countries, but probably nowhere carried to so great an height as among the Portuguese, who are the most bigotted to the fopperies of their religion of any nation under the Sun."[1]

The fleet left Madeira on 19th April at 10 A.M., saw the Island of Palma, one of the Canaries, on the 23rd, "got into the trade winds" on the 25th, " were in sight of the Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands," on the 26th or 27th. In the middle of May, the " ship being too much crowded with stores and men and consequently very hot between decks, the crew became so sickly " that in 6 days they buried 7 men and 160 were on the sick list suffering from "putrid fevers." This fever was the result of eating the stock-fish, a part of their tinned provision getting putrid.

[1] " Ives's Voyage," p. 4.

In their voyage they shot off the Cape of Good Hope an " albatrose," a sea fowl " which measured 17½ feet from wing to wing." A shark also was caught " which had the horns, skin, and many bones of a bullock in the belly. After it was dead and dried, a very large man passed through its jaws."[1]

They arrived at Madagascar on 17th July. Madagascar was then governed by 4 or 5 kings who were frequently at war with each other. The beef of Madagascar was then well known. The bullocks of the Island weighed from 600 to 700 pounds. The chiefs of the King's court " prided themselves in being called by English names. And the King's own family likewise, in imitation of the court of England, is not without a Prince of Wales, a Duke of Cumberland, a Prince Augustus, and Princesses, distinguished by English names. All the great men abovementioned, came on board naked, except a covering over their hips, and another over their shoulders."

The fleet touched the shore of India at the Fort of St. David near Madras on the 10th of September 1754.

Description of Bombay.

Dr. Ives left Fort St. David on 11th October and his ship, Salisbury,[2] anchored in what he called " Bombay Road " on the 13th of November 1754. He gives the following description of Bombay[3] :—

" Bombay is a small island, but for its size, perhaps the most flourishing of any this day in the universe. Though the soil is so barren as not to produce any one thing worth mentioning, yet the convenience of its situation will always more than make up for that defect. It may justly be styled ' the grand storehouse of all the Arabian and Persian commerce.' When this island was first surrendered to us by the Portuguese, we hardly thought it worth notice ; but, in a very few years afterwards, we experimentally found the value of it, and it is now become our chief settlement of the Malabar Coast."

Speaking of the natives of this island, he says that, though shorter, they are stronger than the people of the Coromandel Coast. He got this idea of their strength from the number of men that carried the

[1] " Ives's Voyage," p. 5.

[2] It was in this ship that Mr. Nowrojee Rustomji Seth, the first Parsee to visit England, had sailed from here in 1723. (Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 24).

[3] Ives's Voyage, p. 31. His description of Bombay, is referred to in the " Bombay Quarterly Review," Vol. V, January and April 1857, pp. 161-162, in the article entitled " An Age of Progress in Bombay, 1740-1762."

palanquin, which was one of the principal kinds of conveyances here up to about 50 or 60 years ago. He says four coolies carried a palanquin here, while six were required at Madras. "The people of this island were," he says, "made up of every nation in Asia."

The Parsees.

I will quote here at full length what he says of my own co-religionists, the Parsees. He says :—

"We met with several Parsees, who, like their forefathers, the ancient Persians, are followers of Zoroaster, who is said to have modelled and reduced into order the religion of the ancient Magi, the fundamental maxim of which was the worshipping only one God under the symbol of light. They adore the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest reverence and veneration ; and by a natural consequence of the worship they pay the sun, they likewise pay a particular veneration to fire.

"I met with a very remarkable instance of this, while I was at Bombay ; one day passing through the street, I heard a very uncommon noise, and seeing at the same time a large fire in one of the houses, curiosity led me a little closer to it : in the middle of the house was set a large brass pan with a fire in it : before this fire, or rather on each side of it, two men were kneeling at their devotions, which they hurried over with great rapidity. I looked on for a considerable time with great attention, and afterwards learned from a servant of the admirals, who was of this *cast*, that one of them was a priest, then on a visit to another priest in a fit of sickness. This servant likewise told me, that the Parsees have such a veneration for fire, that they never put it out, or so much as breathe upon it ; and I took particular notice, that while these priests were at prayers over the pan of coals, they had a kind of little white bib over their mouth, as I imagined, to prevent their breathing on their favourite element. The prayers appeared to me, to be only a repetition of the same set of words, from the similarity of their sounds. The visiting priest use many gestures with his hands over the fire, and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest, which I looked upon as the final benediction, for presently afterward the ceremony ended. This instance strongly corroborates Prideaux's observation[1] concerning their usage at public worship. 'The priests themselves never approach this fire in their temples but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breathe thereon : and this they did not only when

[1] The reference is to Dr. Humphrey Prideaux's "The Old and New Testaments connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring nations. Part I, Bk. IV (17th Edition of 1815), Vol. I, p. 269.

they tended the fire to lay on more wood, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers, rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the Romish priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said.' " [1]

I will make a few observations on some of the statements of Dr. Ives in the above passage.

The prayer referred to above as being recited by the visiting priest over the sick priest seems to be the Ardibehesht Yasht (Yasht 3). There are two points in our author's statements which point to that identification.

1. The first is that the visiting priest used many gestures with his hands over the fire and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest.

2. The second is that the prayer seemed to him " to be only a repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds."

Ardibehesht is the third of the seven Ameshaspends or archangels of the Parsees. His Avesta name is Asha Vahishta, *i.e.*, the best purity. In the word 'Asha' or purity, both physical and mental purities are included. So, this archangel is believed to preside over the best purity. Health both physical and mental or spiritual, gives purity. So, Asha Vahishta presides over health also. He is therefore invoked in case of illness. The Hûspâram *nask*, as described in the Dinkard, says :

"Where it is the healing of the sick, the spiritual debt is unto the archangel Asha Vahisht, and that which is worldly unto the physician's anteroom (drugs)." [2] What is meant is this : When a man recovers from illness, we are indebted to two sources for his recovery—one, the Divine power, as represented by the Ameshâspend, Asha Vahishta, and the other, the human power as represented by the medical man who treats the sick man. As Prof. Darmesteter points out, this reminds us of the words of the eminent French physician Ambroise Pare, who is known in France as the Father of Surgery. He used to say: "Je panse et Dieu guêrit," *i.e.*, " I dress (the wounds) and God cures." He meant to say that the medical men only dress the wounds, to cure a patient, but

[1] Ives's Voyages, pp. 31-32.

[2] S. B. E. XXXVII, p. 116, Dinkard, Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14. *Vide* Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. II, p. 115.

it is God who really cures him. In the Ardibehesht Yasht itself, of all the remedies for a sick man's illness, the best is considered to be that of the Holy word, *i. e.*, that which strengthens and influences his mind. This, being the case, the recital of Ardibehesht Yasht, before sick persons, was often resorted to even up to the last century, and it is not unknown even now.

"The stroking down the face" of the sick patient while reciting the Ardibehesht Yasht consists now-a-days in making a few passes over the body with a handkerchief, or with the hand, and then clapping the fingers of the hand. This process is now known as "Ardibehesht Yasht in pichi."

Fire, as the refulgent symbol of the Glory of God and the visible form of heat that pervades and purifies the whole earth is a symbol of purity. So, Asha Vahishta or Ardibehesht presides over fire also. Hence it is that, as Dr. Ives describes, the fire was placed before the sick patient while the Yasht was recited. But one can recite that Yasht even without the fire.

Now Dr. Ives says that the prayer seemed to him "to be the repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds." That statement also proves the fact that the prayer recited by the priest and heard by him was the Ardibehesht Yasht, because of all the Avesta writings, the Ardibehesht Yasht is one where there is a good deal of repetition with a slight change of words.

The "little white bib" which, according to Dr. Ives, was put on by the priest while reciting the prayer before fire was the *padân* or *paitidâna*, put on, even now, by Parsee priests.

Dr. Ives thinks that what he saw, *viz.*, the priests reciting their prayers with a piece of cloth over their mouths, corroborated Prideaux's observation that the Parsee priests mumbled over their prayers like Romish priests. That is not always the case. The present prayer book of the Parsees contains writings both in the ancient Avesta language and the later Pazend. So, whenever they have to recite the Pazend portion in the midst of the Avesta scriptures, they do so with a suppressed tone, which is technically known among them as reciting in *bâj* and which Firdousi refers to, as reciting in *zamzame* زمزمه زم.

The Parsee custom of the Disposal of the dead.

Then Dr. Ives thus refers to the Parsee custom of the disposal of their dead and of their places of disposal now known as the Towers-of-Silence.

"As the Gentoos burn their dead, one would think that the Parsees, who are so fond of worshipping their deity under the representation of fire, should be desirous of having their dead bodies committed to that element, wherein they suppose their creator principally to reside. But contrary to this, and to the custom of all other nations in the world, they neither burn nor bury their dead, but cast them out in the open air, to be exposed to the several elements, where they are soon devoured by eagles, vultures, and other birds of prey. The principle they go upon is, that a living man being compounded of all the elements, it is but reasonable, after he is dead, that every particular element should receive its own again. On the top of Malabar-hill, in this island of Bombay, are two round buildings, on purpose for receiving the dead bodies of the Parsees, which are placed and remain there till the bones are clean picked by the birds. A guard constantly stands within a small distance of the place, who is very much displeased if you offer to approach the buildings; and for this reason, lest by your going too near, you disturb the vultures in their preying upon the dead bodies. One afternoon, however, I resolved to satisfy my curiosity so far as to peep into one of these edifices. I perceived several dead bodies, but there was little flesh left upon the bones; and that little was so parched up by the excessive heat of the sun, that it did not emit those stinking effluvia which there was reason to expect. It was owing probably to the same cause, that the bones were rendered quite black.[1]"

The pictures of the towers that he gives seems to be imaginary, because the two towers that he refers to, still exist, and one can see at once, that his sketches differ. First of all, he has shown them to be of the same size, which, as a matter of fact, they are not. Again the outward appearances also differ.

The use of the words "Towers of Silence."

We note that our author does not speak of the places serving as receptacles of the bodies, as towers, but only as "round buildings." The word Towers has latterly come into use. There was some discussion, about a year ago[2], as to who first brought the words "Tower of Silence" into use. Sir George Birdwood said that it was the late Mr. Robert Zavier Murphy who first used the term. I supported his statement, and said that it was in 1832, that the term was first used in a card printed in the *Bombay Gazette* by the late Mr. Framji Cowasji when he built the "Tower-of-Silence" which is

[1] Ives' Voyage, pp. 32 and 33.

[2] *Vide* Sir George Birdwood's letter to the *London Times* of 8th August 1905. *Vide* that letter quoted in the *Times of India* of 29th August 1905. *Vide* my letter to the *Times of India* of 3rd October 1905.

known by his name. The late Mr. Murphy, who was latterly the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, had, at the time of the publication of that card in the *Bombay Gazette* of 28th March 1832, some connection with the paper. So, it appears that, when Mr. Framjee Cowasji asked the *Bombay Gazette* to print his card or general invitation to Europeans and other non-Zoroastrians to come and see the round building he had built for the disposal of the dead of his community, Mr. Murphy, who must have been connected with the *Gazette* in some capacity before he became its editor, coined this new phrase "Tower-of-Silence" for the first time.

Sir George Birdwood in his letter to the *London Times* above referred to, calls the phrase "Tower-of-Silence" "a fine figure of speech." I will take this opportunity to say, what must have suggested this fine figure of speech to Mr. Murphy. He was an Oriental Scholar and was at one time Oriental Translator to Government. As such, he was versed in Oriental literature and among that, in Persian and Hindustani literature. Now in Persian the word for "Silence" or for "the Silent" is *khámush* خاموش This word *khámush* is also figuratively used for the "dead." Dr. Steingass gives both these meanings for this word khámush[1] Then, as to the word 'Tower,' it is natural that the structure being round, the word Tower at once struck Mr. Murphy as an appropriate word.

So it seems that the Persian word *khámush*, meaning 'Silence' or 'Silent' as well as 'dead,' suggested to Mr. Murphy the phrase "Tower-of-Silence."

A few Hindustani quotations, wherein the word *khámush* is used for the dead, have been kindly supplied to me by my friend Munshi Khan Saheb Farrudin. I am indebted to him for this suggestion as to the possible way which may have suggested to Mr. Murphy this figure of speech.

(ناسخ)

عیش تنہائی ہوا مردون کي کثرت سے محال
جاؤن اب یارب کہان شہر خموشان چھوڑ کر

Translation—(The complaint of a departed soul)—

"The solitary enjoyment has become impossible owing to the infinite number of the dead. Oh God! where am I to go leaving the City of Silence, *i.e.*, the cemetery."

1 *Vide* his Persian-English Dictionary, p. 443, the word *Khamush* خاموش

ایضاً

گذر ناگاہ جو میرا ہوا شہر خموشان میں
عجب نقشہ نظر وہان شاہان عالم کا
کہین آئینہ زانوی سکندر کا شکستہ تہا
کسی جانب پڑا تہا کاسئہ سر خاک میں جم کا

Translation—(A living man draws a picture of the unstability of the worldly greatness.)

" I happened to go once in the City of Silence (*i.e.*, to the cemetery), where a wonderful sight of the state of the kings of the world, came to my vision. On one side was lying the knee of Alexander and on the other the skull of Jam (shed)."

استعمال شہر خموشان

(از آباد لکھنوی)

دیکھکر آئینئہ رخ اوس کا سکتہ ہو گیا
جیتے جی ہم داخل شہر خموشان ہو گئے

" We were so much affected that we remained motionless (literally smitten with apoplexy) on seeing her (beloved's) mirror-like face. We felt like entering alive the City of Silence."

(از ناسخ لکھنوی)

جس جگہہ تہے قصر و منظر بن گئین گورین تمام
شہر جو آباد تہے شہر خموشان ہو گئے

" The spot which had lofty palaces and beautiful sights is now full of graves. The cities which were once populous have now become cities of silence, *i.e.*, grave-yards."

I have come across an old document in the records of the Parsee Panchayet, which shows that the Portuguese used the word ' well ' for the Tower. In a document dated 1st May 1796 we find the following words : 'Poiço dos Parcois aon de passrað seus defuntos"

i.e., the Parsees' well, through which their dead bodies pass. The document is a deed of sale of a hill, named Ragi, by one Krishnoba to Mr. Dady Nusserwanjee. Some Portuguese documents of the years 1710 to 1739 speak of the Towers as cemeteries or sepulchres. (*Vide* the Zartoshti of month Farvardin 1276 Yezdezardi, Vol. IV., No. 1.)

The Dates of two Parsee Towers.

There is one statement in the above description of Dr. Ives which appears to me to be useful in determining the date of the construction of one of the old Parsi Towers-of-Silence in Bombay. He speaks of having seen "two round buildings" or towers. Unfortunately, these two towers, the two oldest of the five public towers standing in the Parsee ground, known as Doongarwadi among the Parsees, have no tablets to give the dates of their construction. But, fortunately, it is three old European travellers that have come to our help, in determining, at least approximately, the dates of these two old towers.

1 Modi's Tower.

The first or the oldest of the two towers referred to by Dr. Ives is that known as Modi's tower. As said above, there is no tablet over it. Again there are no family records to determine the date of its foundation. But, as pointed out by Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel[1], Dr. John Fryer[2] refers to this oldest tower in his book of travels entitled "A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters, being nine years travels, begun 1672 and finished 1681." Therein he says: "On the other side of the great Inlet, to the Sea, is a great point abutting against Old Woman's Island[3] and is called Malabar-hill, a rocky woody mountain, yet sends forth long grass. A-top of all is a Parsi Tomb lately reared.[4]"

Fryer's book was published in 1698. He left England for India on 9th December 1672[5]. He arrived in Bombay on 9th December 1673[6]. His letter, wherein he refers to the tower (Modi's Tower), is dated Surat, 15th January 1675 (old system 1674)[7]. So, it is clear, that the first Parsi Tower-of-Silence was built some time before the year 1675 when he wrote the letter containing the above passage. He says it was "lately reared." The words "lately reared" are rather indefinite. It may be two or three years before the year when he wrote the above.

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[1] *Parsi Prakash*, I, p. 17.

[2] Dr. Fryer left England on 9th December 1672. He landed in Bombay on 9th December 1673. His letter from Surat wherein he refers to the first tower is dated 15th January 1675.

[3] Colaba was then known by this name.

[4] Dr. Fryer's Travels, p. 67.

[5] *Vide* his New Account of East India and Persia in eight letters from 1672-1681, p. 1.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 59.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 89.

Now, there is another traveller whose book helps us in determining the value or the meaning of Dr. Fryer's words "lately reared." This traveller was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Streynsham Master who was in India from 1656 to 1682. In an interval during the period he had gone once to England.[1]

As he has not been referred to in the Gazetteer and in the *Parsi Prakash*, his notes having come to light lately, I will here make use of his reference and try to determine the date of the first tower.

It is in a letter dated Bombay, January 18, 1671, (*i.e.*, New System, 1672) that he refers to the tower. The letter is headed "a letter from Suratt in India giving an acco^{tt} : of y^{e} : Manners of y^{e} : English factories, &ca, their way of Civill Converse and Pious Comportment and Behaviour in these Partes." It is an unusually long document to be called a letter. Therein, while giving a short description of Bombay, and speaking of its different "nations or sects of people" he thus speaks of the Parsees :

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[1] The following particulars about this traveller are collected from Col. Henry Yule's Account of his life. *Vide* the Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, Vol. II, p. CCXXIII.

Sir Streynsham Master was born on 28th October 1640. He left London on 4th April 1656 to go to India with his uncle and god-father George Oxenden. They arrived at Surat in November 1656. Mr. Oxenden returned to Europe but Master remained at Surat in charge of George Oxenden's brother Cristopher Oxenden who was "then second in council of the Company's factory at Surat." Mr. Master then went out as Cape-Merchant and supercargo on a vessel bound for Persian Gulf. He returned to Surat in December 1659. He was taken into the Company's service in January 1659-60. Till 1686 he was employed at Surat and Ahmedabad. During the interval, *i.e.*, in 1662, his uncle had returned to Surat as Sir George Oxenden and as President of Surat. In 1668 he was one of the Council at Surat. In the month of September of that year "he was associated with Mr. Goodyer (Governor-designate,) Captain Young, and Mr. Cotes, to go to Bombay and receive over charge of the Island from the King's officers." When Surat was attacked by the Mahrattas in 1664, he took part in the defence of the factory and Company's property. When the Mahrattas pillaged Surat for the second time under Sivaji in October 1670, the Council was temporarily located at Swally (known among the people there as Soomari સુમારી). So, Mr. Master was asked to come down from that place to Surat to hold the factory against the invaders. This he did "with much gallantry and tact." The Court of Directors in London voted him on 20th July 1671-2 a gold medal in recognition of his services. It was presented to him in 1672 when he went home. Gerald Aungier was the Governor at the time of Sivaji's above invasion. He was at Swally. Master returned to England in June 1672 and married in 1674. In September 1675 he was nominated the Governor of Fort St. George. He arrived at Fort St. George on 7th July 1676. He then went to Bengal on inspection duty and took charge of his appointment as governor of Madras in 1677, when Sir William Langhorne went home. He fell in the disfavour of the Court of Directors; he was recalled by a letter, dated 5th January 1680-81. He gave over charge of his office to Mr. W. Gyfford on 3rd July 1681 and then went to England.

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[2] The Diary of Willam Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II, Printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, p. CCXXV.

[3] *Ibid*, p. CCCV.

"The Parsees are the antient inhabitants of Persia, from whence those that now inhabit hereabouts fled, at such time as the Mahometan Religion was by Violence planted in that Country, which was about 900 years since. Then severall of those Parsees resolving to so suffer and undergoe any hardship rather than submitt to Mahomett and his followers imbarged themselves and their familys in a few slight built vessels of that Country and Committed themselves to the Mercy of the Wind and the Seas, not knowing whether they would [fare] (a most desperate undertaking), and at length it pleased God they were cast upon the Coast of India between Surratt and Daman about 12 or 13 miles from Surratt, near the same place where the first English Ship that arrived in India was alsoe cast away, where escapeing to the Shoare with life, the Indians not used to such guests, yet being as obliging People to strangers as any nation under heaven (as the English found them when the Sun, the first Ship we had in these parts was cast away at or near the same place) tooke yet this advantage upon them (if it may be soe tearmed) that they should live and inhabit with them if they would swear to them that they would not kill Cows or any of that Sort of Cattell, and observe their Ceremonies of Marryage, that is to marry their children young at 6 or 7 years old or thereabouts, to which the Poore Parsees soone agreed, and there seated themselves, the Towne being called Nausarree, or by the English Nunsaree, where since they have spread themselves about these parts of the Country, about 30 or 40 miles about Surratt, but there are very few farther in the Country, yet some, for they say a Parsee was raised to great honour in the Court by Jangier this Mogull's grandfather. At the said place of Nausarre their chief priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought [with] them from their owne Country, and is never to goe out. They keepe it soe constantly supplyed; they had a Church in Surratt; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the Zelott Moors destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have severall buryall Places hereabouts, which are built of Stone in the wide fields, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and doe feed upon them.

"These People are of a different Shape and Complection from all other People that ever I sawe in the World; they are of all Professions, except Seamen, for they have hitherto held it unlawfull for them to goe to Sea, because they must then Pollute the Element of Water which they esteem holy, as they doe fire. But of late some few of them had adventured to transgress that ceremony. They have a great Reverence for fire, and many of them will not put it out, but let

it extinguish for want of matter; they worship and acknowledge one God Allmighty and noe Images or Representations. But only the Sun they doe adore, and they give this reason for it; that God Allmighty told them by their first Prophet that they should worship only one thing beside Himselfe and that thing should be that which was most like unto him. Now they say there is noe one thing in the world soe much like unto God as the Sun, for it hath its light and heat in itselfe, which it disperseth and infuseth into all parts and Creatures in the World, soe that it gives them life and light; therefore they say they worship it.

"President Aungier, one of the most ingenious men of our Nation that ever was in these parts, hath been somewhat Curious in his Enquiry into the Religion of these People, and according to the account they have of the history of the World, he is of opinion they had it from the Hebrews, it differing not much from Moses. They say according to these prophesys the World will not last many hundreds of years longer, but that their Kingdom and Country will be restored to them, and all Nations shall be of their Religion ere the World be ended."

Then, while speaking of the island of Bombay Master, says of the Parsees of this city :—

"Here is allsoe some Parsees, but they are lately come since the English had the Island, and are most of them weavers, and have not yet any place to doe their devotion in or to bury their dead." [1]

This last statement of Sir Streynsham Master, made on 18th January 1672, shows, that on that day, the Parsees of Bombay had no Tower-of-Silence. So, the statement of Dr. Fryer on the one hand, and that of Sir S. Master on the other, gives two dates between which the first Parsee Tower-of-Silence was built in Bombay. They decide that it was built at some time during the three years between the 18th of January 1672, the date given by Master, and 15th of January 1675, the date given by Fryer. This period of three years can still be reduced to a narrower period, because though Fryer wrote his letter from Surat on 15th January 1675, he narrates therein what he saw at Bombay during the preceding year. At the end of the monsoons of 1674 he had left Bombay for Surat.[2] His observations about Bombay itself must have been for the months of January or February 1674, because we learn from his book that before the end of the hot season he had left Bombay for Bassein. Before this, he had been visiting some of the coast towns near Bombay. So, his account of Bombay refers to the early part of the

[1] The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, p. CCCXVI.

[2] Fryer's Travels, p. 82.

year 1674. So, we can safely say, that the tower referred to by Fryer as "lately raised," was built some time after 18th January 1672 and before January or February 1674. It was built in the latter end of 1672 or at some time in 1673.

Manockji Seth's Tower.

Now, just as the writings of the abovementioned two travellers have helped us in determining approximately the date of the construction of the first tower, the book of Dr. Ives helps us in determining the date of the second old tower—which is now known as the Manockji Seth's Tower.

The Parsee population at the time of our author's visit must be much below 10,000. Sir James Campbell's Gazetteer has given "the chief available details of the strength of the Parsees at different times since the beginning of the (19th) century." But the Journal of our own Society seems to have escaped his notice. In the very first volume of the Journal of our Society, then known as the Literary Society, we have a note latterly attached to the "Preliminary Discourse" delivered by Sir James Mackintosh, the founder of the Society. In that note we find the following figures of Parsee population in 1811 :—

Men from 20 to 80 years of age	3,644
Women ,, ,, ,, ,, ...	3,333
Boys from 20 down to infant children	1,799
Girls ,, ,, ,, ,, ...	1,266
Total ..	10,042

This was in 1811. So in the middle of the 18th century it may be about 5,000. Whatever it may be, it was thought some time before 1748, that there was a demand for a second and a larger tower. The fact is inferred from the Will of the first Mr. Manockji Nowroji Seth, who died in 1748, and from whose father's name our Nowroji Hill derives its name. This Manockji Seth was the grandson of Rustom Manock from whose name Rustompora in Surat derives its name, and who was the broker of the English factory at Surat in the middle of the 17th century, and had gone in 1660 to the Court of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi to bring about a settlement of some points of dispute that had arisen between the Nabob of Surat and the English factory at Surat. His father Nowroji Seth was the first Parsee to go to England in 1724. He went there to lay his grievances personally before the Court of Directors in the matter of some money dispute that had arisen between him and the English Factors at Surat.

Now, it appears from the last Will[1] of the above Manockji Seth that, some time before 1748, the date of the death of the Testator, the Parsee community had raised a fund to build a second and a larger tower. Mr. Manockji Seth's subscription was Rs. 2,000, but it was not collected, perhaps, because the money subscribed by the community was not found sufficient. So, he mentions the subscription in his Will and directs that instead of Rs. 2,000, a sum of Rs. 2,500 may be given to the fund. The whole amount of the subscriptions not being found sufficient, the heirs of the late Mr. Manockji offered to make up all the deficiency, and the tower was built and named after the principal donor, as Manockji Seth's Tower.

Now the question is : When was that tower built ? This tower also bears no date. Mr. Manockji had built a tower in his lifetime, a year before his death (*i.e.*, in 1747), at Naosari. That tower bears a date in Persian.[2] But the tower built in Bombay several years later does not bear any date.

Mr. Ruttonji Framji Vachha in his *Mumbai-no-Bâhâr*,[3] *i.e.*, " the Spring or the Rise of Bombay" published in 1874, says that the tower of Manockji Seth was built in 1128, Yazdazardi, *i.e.*, in 1759 A. D. Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel gives the date as 1756.[4] He says that he was given that date by the late Mr. Heerjeebhoy Hormusji Sethna, a member of Seth Khândân family. There seems to be no documentary evidence about it. I wrote to three members of the Seth Khândân family, to inquire, if they had any documents or written notes in the family, to show that the tower was built in 1756. They have replied that they have none.

Now the work of our author, Dr. Ives, shows us, that the second tower, namely, the Manockji Seth's Tower was built some years before 1756, the date given by Khan Bahadur Patel. Dr. Ives says that in 1754 he saw two towers. So, it appears, that the Manockji Seth's Tower was built not in 1756 but some time before 1754. Manockji Seth having died in 1748 and provided for that tower in 1748, it must have been built at some time between 1748 and 1754. This period of interval can still be reduced, because the Bombay Parsees wrote a letter in February 1750 to the Naosari Anjuman asking them to send two priests to perform the ceremony of laying the foundation. The letter was signed, among others, by the two wives of Manockjee Seth.[5] So,

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[1] This Will, and what we may now call its codicils, have been published in the શેઠ આનદજી કુંવરજીની વંશાવલી તથા કુંડું એહવાલ, *i.e.*, the Genealogy and a short Account of the Seth family, published in 1900 by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth (pp. 77-84). It is also partly published in the Parsee Prakash. [2] Parsee Prakash, I, p. 36

[3] મુંબઈનો બાહોરે, p. 445. [4] Parsee Prakash, I, p. 42. [5] *Ibid*, p. 38.

the tower must have been built sometime between 1750 and 1754, probably not long after the above letter, *i.e.*, in or about 1751.

Ives' further account of Bombay.

We will now proceed to consider a few other points about Bombay referred to by our author.

It appears that a term "toddy-headed" was used at that time for the weak-headed from the fact that toddy intoxicated men. We do not find the term used now.

The rind of the cocoanut fruit was at that time used for a kind of cloth for the poorer class of people. I think that that has altogether gone out of use now.

The Abkari tax for tapping each cocoanut tree was then 20 shillings.

The meaning of the word Bombay is often discussed. Our author understands its name to convey "an idea of a safe retreat in foul weather" (Bon or good bay). Bombay is said to have had "a very good dock" at the time for small ships. It was "the most convenient place among all our settlements in the East Indies for careening and heaving down large ships" (p. 33).

Among the little forts and batteries of this little island, Dr. Ives names, "Dungaree, Massegon, Mahee, Mendham's Point and Sion-hill." Of these Dungaree and Sion-hill are familiar names to us even now. Massegon is our modern Mazagon. Dr. Jerson da Cunha[1] suggests several meanings of the name.

1 मच्छ गांव (machchgâv), *i.e.*, fishing village.

2 महिष गांव (mahishgâv), *i.e.*, a buffalo village.

3 माजगांव (mâzagâv), *i.e.*, central village.

Of these three, he thinks the first to be "most acceptable." The form Massegon given by our author seems to support this meaning.

Mahee seems to be Mahim where we have still an old fort. Mendham's Point is a name unknown to us now. Colaba, which was formerly considered to be an island separate from Bombay, was then known as the Old Woman's Island. Before it was connected with Bombay itself in 1838, the southern extremity of Bombay, where the Sailors' Home stands at present, was known as Mendham's Point. It is said that the first English cemetery was there and the first person buried there was one Mendham. Hence the Point was named after him.[2]

[1] The Origin of Bombay, p. 59. The Extra Number of the Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, 1900.

[2] Dr. Jerson da Cunha's Origin of Bombay, p. 339.

All these forts were defended by guns at the time of our author's visit. The principal fort had more than 100 guns.

The renovation of the Cathedral has been much discussed lately. Of this cathedral our author says : " The Church also is not less substantial than the fort ; it is a very handsome, large edifice, and in comparison of those which are to be met with in the other settlements, it looks like one of our cathedrals." It was built by voluntary subscriptions. Rev. Mr. Cobbe, father of Mr. Richard Cobbe, Admiral Watson's chaplain, was the chief promoter of the work of building the church. Rev. Cobbe was at one time a chaplain of the Bombay factory.

Tank-house was the family residence of the Admiral. Our author does not say where it was, but I think it is the house at Gowalia Tank, now known as Tanka-ville. It was so called from the large tank near it. The Admiral was allowed five pagodas[1] a day for " a part of the expenses of his table." The Company allowed him and his principal attendants the use of palanquins. The horses being of little value and being also very scarce, they generally used oxen. These oxen travelled fast at the rate of 7 or 8 miles an hour. The Admiral had a chaise and a pair of oxen allowed him by the Company. It was in this chaise that the Admiral went " for an afternoon's airing " to Malabar Hill, Old Woman's Island (Colaba) and to Marmulla. By Marmulla, our author perhaps means Breach Candy.

The Hindu burning ground was at that time " near the water's edge under Malabar hill."

The following account of our author's interview with a *Jogee* is interesting :—

" During my stay at this place, I hired by the month, a chaise drawn by a pair of bullocks. In the several excursions I made in this carriage, I had frequently passed by one of those religious persons, or anchorets, who in India are called *Joogees;* and who, in consequence of a vow made by their parents, and during their mother's pregnancy with them, are devoted to the service of heaven. One evening, I and a companion had an inclination to pay a short visit to this *Joogee*, who always sat in one posture on the ground in a shady cocoanut plantation, with his body covered over with ashes, and his long black hair clotted, and in the greatest disorder. As we approached him, we made our salutation, which he respectfully returned ; and then, with the assistance of our Indian driver, who could speak English, we began a conversation with him, that principally turned on the wonderful efficacy of his prayers, and which he pretended had

[1]According to Webster, its value varied at different places. It was about 7*s.* 4*d.*

given health to the sick, strength to the lame, sight to the blind, and fecundity to women who for their whole lives had been deemed barren. When we were about to take our leave of him, I offered him a present of two rupees, which he bade me to throw on the ground, and then directed his servant, who was standing by, to take them up, which he did with a pair of iron-pincers, throwing the rupees at the same time into a pot of vinegar. After they had lain there a little while, the same servant took them out, wiped them carefully, and at last delivered them to his master, who soon afterwards, by way of return, presented us with a few cakes of his insipid pastry. I then requested of him, that in his next prayers he would petition for an increase of my happiness, to which with great complacency in his countenance, he replied: 'I hardly know what to ask for you: I 'have seen you often and you have always appeared to me to enjoy 'perfect health; you ride in your chaise at your ease; are often ac-'companied with a very pretty lady; you are ever well clothed, and are 'likewise fat; so that you seem to me to be in possession of every thing 'that can be any way necessary to happiness. I believe therefore, 'when I pray for you, it must be in this strain, that God would give 'you grace to deserve, and to be thankful for those many blessings 'which he has already bestowed upon you.' I told him that I was thoroughly satisfied with the mode of his intended supplication for me; and with a mutual exchange of smiles and compliments we parted."[1]

It is only last month, that our Governor Lord Lamington laid the foundation of a building, which was understood to be the first building in a scheme of thoroughly re-building the whole of the Sir Jamsetjee Hospital. The foundation of this hospital was laid in 1843 and it was opened in 1845. But it seems that a Government Hospital existed in Bombay as early as 1773. It was intended only "for the sick and hurt of the squadron of His Majesty." Our author says of this hospital:—

"Our hospital at Bombay was without the town-wall; and in order to make my attendance on it the more convenient, Mr. Délâguarde (a factor in the Company's service) was so obliging as to give me the use of a very commodious house, which lay near the hospital, and belonged to him as superintendent of the powder-works."[2]

From the reference to the powder-works, and from the statement that the hospital was out of the fort, we are led to think that it was somewhere at Mazagaon, where a place is still known as Darukhâneh. It appears that the hospital was attended to by any medical

[1] Ives's Voyages, p. 35.

[2] Ibid, p. 18.

officer that happened to be in Bombay. During his first visit, our author was in Bombay only for about one month from 13th November to 15th December 1754.[1]

While on the subject of the hospital I would draw the attention of medical men to the drugs used at the time. Our author[2] gives a list of the drugs as given to him by a Portuguese Physician of Bombay named Diego.

The next interesting thing in our author's book are the tables of the daily rainfall of Bombay for the monsoon of the year 1756. He gives the daily rainfall as measured by his friend Dr. Thomas who supplied it to him afterwards. The total rainfall of that year from May to October was 110 inches and 3-tenths. He also describes the rain-gauge then used.

Among the Bombay curiosities of the time our author mentions the following[3] :—

1. A terapin (a large beetle) kept at the Governor's[4] house ; its age was said to be "upward of 200 years."
2. Large frogs, some measuring about 22 inches from the extremities of the fore and hind feet when extended and weighing about 4 or 5 lbs.
3. Beautiful shells on the sea shore much estimated by the ladies of that time and known as Ventletraps or Wendletraps. One of such shells was sold for several pounds.

He names the following species of Bombay snakes known at the time :—

1. The Covra (Cobra) Capella, from 4 to 8 or 9 feet long.
2. The Covra Manilla, of the size of a man's little finger and about a foot long.
3. The Palmira, about 4 feet long, "not much larger than a swan's quill."
4. The Green Snake.
5. The Sand Snake.
6. The Covra de Aurellia, which is like an earth-worm about 6 inches long. It "kills by getting into the ear and causing madness." This seems to be what is now known here as the કાનકઝુરો (a centipede).
7. The Manilla Bombo.

[1] Ibid, p. 36. [2] Ibid, p. 44. [3] Ibid. p. 42.

[4] Richard Bourchier was Governor of Bombay from 17th November 1750 to 28th February 1760.

During his short stay of one month, our author saw two fleets of country vessels in the harbour. "One of them belonged to the Nanna or Prince of the Maharattas, the other to Monajee Angria, the brother of Angria the pirate." These vessels carried two guns in their bow. The music of these fleets "was a plain brass tube, shaped like a trumpet at both ends and about 10 feet in length, and a kind of drum called a tomtom. Each fleet consisted of about 30 sails."[1]

The following table gives the exchange as then prevalent :—

"A 36-shilling piece exchanges for 16½ rupees.
A guinea ,, ,, 9 ,,
An English crown ,, 2 rupees and 6 double pice.
A Spanish dollar ,, 2 ,, ,, 3 ,, ,,
Eighty pice made a rupee.

The description of the Elephanta Caves given by our author on the authority of his friend Dr. Thomas will interest archæologists to enable them to know what parts have been latterly further destroyed. He gives a plan of the caves.

This finishes our author's account of Bombay during his first visit (13th November to 15th December 1754). He then went with his Admiral to Madras and the adjoining towns and returned to Bombay again on 11th November 1755.

Clive in Bombay.

On his second visit to Bombay, we find that the fleet, to which our author was attached, was engaged in a naval fight[2] with the Angria. The family of Angria were more or less pirates on our Western shores. The Angria at this time (1755) was Tulaji.[3]

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[1] Ives' Voyage, p. 43.

[2] For an account of the Angrias and of this naval battle, *vide* the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I., Part II, pp. 86-96. *Vide* also History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, (by Orme), pp. 407-17.

[3] The following tree shows his descent :—

Tukajee.

Kanhoji (who had distinguished himself in Shivaji's fleet, and who "in the unsettled days of Shivaji's successors, Sambhaji and Shâhu," became independent in 1713. Died in 1728)

Sakhoji (died early).	Sambhaji (Died about 1748). He was succeeded by his half-brother Tulaji.	Manaji.	Yesaji.	Tulaji (half-brother of Sambhaji).

Lieut.-Col. Robert Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, was at that time in Bombay. He had already, by this time, made his name as a good soldier. He "had lately landed on the island with three companies of the King's Artillery from England. He was sent out with a design of acting in conjunction with the Maharattas against the French in the Carnatic and Deccan ; but finding that a truce had been agreed upon with that nation, and perhaps partly excited by Mr. James's late success, it was judged proper by Admiral Watson, Mr. Bourchier Governor of Bombay, Colonel Clive, &c., that the sea and land forces united with the Maharattas should attempt the destroying Angria's piratical state, which was becoming exceedingly formidable, troublesome, and dangerous, not only to the Maharattas, who were his neighbours, but also to our East India Company, and the whole Malabar Coast."[1]

Gheria was the stronghold of Angria at that time, and so, it was this fort that was intended to be taken after a naval fight. It was situated in the Province of Beejapur and was "called Gheria by Mussulmans, but Viziadroog by Hindoos."[2]

In our author's description of the preliminary arrangements before the naval battle, we find an interesting account about the question of the division of booty, or prize-money as they called it, acquired in war, a question, which, it seems, they settled beforehand to avoid disputes later on.

Our author says—

"All things being at last in readiness for putting to sea, a council was held, at Mr. Watson's particular desire, between the sea and land officers, both of His Majesty's forces, and those of the East India Company, with a view of obviating any difficulties that might arise in regard to the proper distribution of prize-money, should the intended expedition be crowned with success. It was settled at this council, that Admiral Watson, as Commander-in-Chief of the King's Squadron, should have two-thirds of one-eighth of the whole ; and Rear-admiral Pocock, one-third of one-eighth. Lieutenant-Colonel Clive and Major Chambers were to share equally with the captains of the King's ships. The captains of the Company's ships, and armed vessels, and captain of the army, were to have an equal share with the lieutenants of the men-of-war. The subaltern officers of the army, and Lieutenants of the company's armed ships and vessels, were to have the same distribution as the warrant officers of the navy, &c.

[1] Ives' Travels, p. 79.

[2] The *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. III, p. 56.

" These articles, however, had scarcely been agreed upon in council, before Colonel Clive, who Commanded-in-Chief on shore, paid a visit to Mr. Watson, and acquainted him, that the army was not satisfied with the terms on which he, as their Commander-in-Chief, was to share ; and that to make those gentlemen easy, who were to serve under him, he found himself under the disagreeable necessity of remonstrating and requiring that, as Commander of the Army he might be entitled to a more honorable division. The argument the Gentlemen of the Army went upon, was, that Mr. Clive, by virtue of the Commission he bore in common of Lieutenant-Colonel, could claim but an equal share with a Captain in the Navy ; yet on this occasion, being Commander-in-Chief of the Army, he ought certainly to be particularly distinguished, and be admitted, at least, to share with Mr. Pocock, the Second Sea-Officer, who was a Rear-Admiral. Mr. Watson replied, that it was impossible for him to make any alterations in the articles agreed upon in council ; neither indeed would his doing it be at all consistent either with custom or the different ranks which Admiral Pocock and Colonel Clive bore in the respective services. He told the Colonel, however, that to satisfy the wishes of the Army, which in the present situation of affairs, he deemed to be a point of the utmost consequence, he would give security under his own hand, to make good the deficiency, out of any monies he himself might be entitled to, so as to make the share of the Commander-in-Chief of the army and that of Mr. Pocock exactly alike. The Colonel, sensibly struck with Mr. Watson's disinterestedness, answered, that provided his officers were satisfied with the proposal, he for his own part should come into it with great cheerfulness. He accordingly took the first opportunity of making those gentlemen acquainted with the Admiral's declaration, who were so much pleased therewith that from that moment all discontent ceased, and the expedition went on with the greatest unanimity."[1]

Our author adds a footnote about the result of the above stipulation, showing a great self-denial on the part of Clive.

Dr. George Smith, in his Memoirs of the life of Lord Clive, in the Encyclopædia Brittanica,[2] calls this " no little self-denial " on the part of Clive. It seems really to be so, and draws our admiration, especially when we know that, according to his biographers, the pecuniary affairs of Clive were not satisfactory at that time. As Lord Macaulay points out in his Essay of Lord Clive,[3] based on " Sir John Malcolm's Life of Lord Robert Clive," Clive had spent away, while in England,

[1] Ives' Voyages, pp. 81 and 82.

[2] Vol. VI., p. 9.

[3] Macaulay, Critical and Historical Essays, Part II.

the whole of his moderate fortune that he had carried from the Madras side. He had extricated " his father from pecuniary difficulties " and " redeemed the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition."[1]

Looking to this condition of Clive's pecuniary state of affairs, it was really " no little self-denial " on his part to have refused politely a sum of £1,000 offered by Admiral Watson.

Dr. Ives gives two fine sketches—one of the views of the Gheria fort itself and the other of a view of the river from it. His account of the interview of Admiral Watson with the weeping family of Angria is really very touching. The interview brought about tears in the eyes of the Admiral. When the mother of the Angria bemoaned the flight of her son and said, " that the people had no king, she no son, her daughters no husband, the children no father," the Admiral consoled her by saying " that from henceforward they must look upon him as their father and friend." On hearing this, a boy, of about six years, sobbing said, " then you shall be my father." This reminds us of what we often hear of old *topeewallas* being considered the real *mâbâps* of the people.

At the close of the battle the fleet returned to Bombay on the 17th March and then left it on the 27th of April 1756. Our author then went with the Admiral to Calcutta, where the affairs of the Black Hole had attracted all available military and naval force. On his return homeward *via* Persian Gulf in 1758, on the death of Admiral Watson, his ship touched Bombay on 24th January 1758. He finally embarked from here on 8th February 1758.

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[1] Lord Macaulay's Essay on Clive. "Critical and Historical Essays contributed to the EDINBURGH REVIEW" in 3 Volumes (1843), Vol. III., p. 138.

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A few Notes on Broach

from an Antiquarian point of view.

(*Read March 15th*, 1907.)

Introduction.

In December last, Khan Bahadur Adurjee Muncherjee Dalal conveyed to me an invitation from himself and his colleagues, the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet of Broach, to pay a visit to their city for the purpose of delivering there one or two lectures and a reading from the *Shah-nâmeh* of Firdousi. In response to this kind invitation, I paid a short visit to Broach from 31st December to 3rd January. While there, I made some inquiries on a subject suggested to me by our learned Secretary, Mr. Edwardes, some time ago, and on two or three other subjects suggested by the visit to the city. The object of this paper is to present a few notes on those subjects.

The following are the principal three heads under which I beg to submit my notes :—

I.—The sites of the Dutch and English Factories.

II.—The past history of Broach from a Parsi point of view and the part said to have been played in that history by the *Kabiseh* (*i.e.*, the intercalary month) question of the Parsis.

III.—The *Kabir Vad* and the *tiraths* or shrines on the Nerbudda near Broach.

I.

The site of the English and Dutch Factories.

The first subject on which I beg to present a few notes is that of the sites of the first English and Dutch factories. Our Secretary had written to me, in June 1905, to make some inquiries from friends at Broach, about the site of the first English factory. On 28th June 1905, I had written to my friend, Mr. Ruttonjee Muncherjee Dalal, requesting him to make such inquiries. On 21st August 1905, he wrote to me in reply giving the results of his inquiries. During my short visit I took up the question myself and made some inquiries personally.

The *Broach Gazetteer* says : "In the year 1613, Broach was visited by Aldworth and Withington, English merchants, and in the next year (1614), on Withington's return from Sind, a house in Broach was hired for a factory. In 1616, Sir Thomas Roe obtained from the Emperor Jehângier permission for the English to establish a trading-house at Broach on very favourable terms. They were to be allowed to live near the Governor, and the decree commanded no man to molest them by sea or land or take any customs of them[1] . . . . . The Dutch were not long of following the example of the English. In 1617 they also settled at Broach and established a factory.[2] But the Broach factory does not seem to have risen to much consequence. In the eighteenth century there was but one junior merchant[3] and one book-keeper, with a few native servants under them[4]" (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 468.)

It appears from this account that the English (A.D. 1614) preceded the Dutch (1617) in founding their factory by about 3 years.

The site of the Dutch factory at Broach is well-known. There is no doubt about it. The large house[5] in which it was situated is still known as the વલંદાની કોઠી (*Valandâni Kothi*), *i.e.*, the factory of the Hollanders. In spite of the various changes which it seems to have

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[1] Robert Orme gives the following version of Sir Thomas Roe in the matter of these concessions :—

" The two and twentieth (of July 1616) I received letters from Brampore, in answer of those to Mahobet Chan, who at *first* (request) granted my desire, making his firman to Barooch most effectual to receive our nation, and to give them a house near the Governor ; strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any *custome* of them, or any way trouble them under colour thereof. . . . . The firman I caused to be sent to Surat (in order to be forwarded by the agency there to Broach) : so that Barooch is provided for a good retreat from the Prince's injuries, and the custom given, whereby fifteen hundred pounds per annum will be saved besides all manner of searches and extortion."—(Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Morattœs, and of the English concerns in Indostan from the year 1659, by Robert Orme (1805), pp. 371-72).

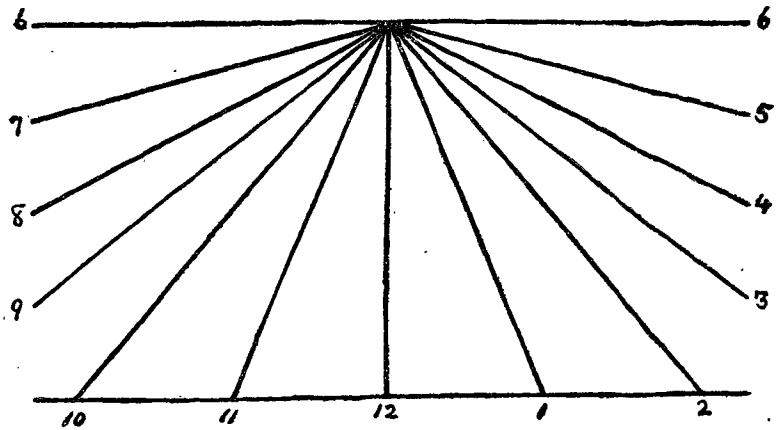
[2] Mr. Bendien, the Bombay Consul for Holland, has, after the above paper was read, kindly sent me copies of his articles on the Dutch in Broach. He gives Pieter Gillesen as the name of this first factor (*Vide* his articles on the Dutch factories in the Neerlandia of January and February 1907. *Vide* the February issue p. 26 for this reference).

[3] Jan Willem Six " Secundo" in the inscription in his tomb. *Vide infra*, p. 67.

[4] " The factory at Baroche was established in the year 1617, and is still continued, yet with very little circumstance, for there is but one junior merchant, and one book-keeper, who reside there as factors, and who have a few native servants under them."—(" Voyages to the East Indies by the late John Splinter Stavorinus," translated from the Dutch by Wilcocke, Vol. III (1798), pp. 108-09.)

[5] According to Mr. Bendien the factory bears on the gate " as an inscription" the initials of the Company. (The Dutch East India Company. V with an ' o ' and ' e ' in the legs of V.)

gone through, for being adopted for small residential quarters, it still bears an inscription on the inside of a wall. I give below the form of the sun-dial with the inscription on it as copied by me from a distance on 31st December 1906. The dial with an inscription is within the court-yard of the factory on the top of the inside part of a wall abutting on a public road. The inscription on it bears the Christian year 1700 and the name of F. J. Groenevelt (F. J. Groenevelt, Anno 1700). Above this inscription appear the initials of the Dutch Company.



The site of the first English factory is not known. But oral tradition, as heard there, says that the very house which was the seat of the Dutch factory was later on the place of the English factory. So, it appears that the English factory was, latterly, when the Dutch left it, transferred to this house. It is not known where it was when it was first founded.

The Dutch must have remained at least about 175 years at Broach. This appears from some of the dates on the tombs in their cemetery. This cemetery is situated about a little on the west of the village of Vijalpore, at a short distance from where the Parsi Towers-of-Silence stand. The *Gazetteer* says of the Dutch tombs that "these monuments bear dates ranging from 1654 to 1770." [1] It would have been well, had the *Broach Gazetteer* which appeared in 1877, published the inscriptions on the tombs which are falling in ruins.

[1] *Broach Gazetteer*, p. 559.

The Dutch cemetery is an interesting place to see, because the construction of the tombs in it seems to be different from what we see in the case of tombs in modern English cemeteries in India.[1] I give the photographs of two of them at the end of this paper. I am indebted for these to Khan Bahadur Adurjee Muncherjee Dalal of Broach. On entering from the west we find a tomb with a platform containing four seats. Then there is a block containing three tombs. This block seems to have had a tablet which is removed. There is another block containing six tombs, one tomb has the form of a Mahomedan dome over it. One can count the ruins of about 20 tombs besides a few masonry mounds. In close proximity we find a small ruin like that of a basin of water.

I beg to suggest that careful photographs of all the tombs and especially of the inscriptions may be soon taken. I have taken copies of the inscriptions.

I wrote about a fortnight ago to Mr. Couzens, the head of the Archæological Department, to ascertain, if the inscriptions are published by his Department in any report. I have not heard from him yet. This week I took my copy of the inscription to the Dutch Consulate here to get it translated. Mr. J. G. Bendien, the Consul, having gone to Holland, I saw Mr. Y. Von Rykoum, the head of the Holland-Bombay Trading Company. He could not give me a correct translation, because being in a foreign language and being very old, I have not been able, in a hasty visit, to copy the inscriptions well. I had requested a gentleman at Broach to kindly get a good photo taken of them, but he has not done so yet. However I learnt from Mr. Rykoum that the Dutch Consul, Mr. Bendien, had once visited the Dutch cemetery, and taken a photo of the inscriptions. He has published these in a Dutch paper in Holland. I have written to Mr. Bendien to send us a copy with its translation. When received it will be worth publishing in our journal.[2]

[1] Mr. Bellasis, while describing the old tombs in the cemeteries of Surat, assigns the following reasons for the grandeur of these old tombs: "The Agents of these several nations vied with each other to live in the greatest splendour .. .. .. Men who lived in such grandeur may naturally be supposed to have emulated each other in creating ostentatious tombs to commemorate their dead ; and thus we find the sepuchral ruins in the cemeteries of Surat, even at the present day, bearing witness to the large sums that must have been expended for these purposes." (Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VI, pp. 146-47.) As Mr. Bellasis says, an idea of the grandeur of the Dutch tombs at Surat may be formed "by the fact of a bill being extant, charging Rs. 6,700 to the Dutch Company for mere repairs" (Ibid, p. 19).

[2] *Vide* Appendix to this paper. As I have latterly received copies of the Inscriptions more carefully taken by Mr. Bendien, the Dutch Consul, I give them in the Appendix. Mine being those by one not knowing the language are naturally faulty.

While on the subject of the inscriptions on the Dutch tombs, I beg to draw the attention of a future reviser or editor of a second edition of the *Gazetteer* of the Broach district to several errors in the copies of the inscriptions of two other tombs as given in the *Gazetteer*.

Two Inscriptions corrected.

The *Gazetteer* gives the inscriptions on two tombs near the village of Vijalpore. I give my copy of the inscription of the tomb of one which I saw, *viz.*, that of Capt. W. Semple :—

Beneath this stone
are deposited the remains of
Captain William Semple,[1]
of His [2] Majesty's 86th Regiment,
who was killed by
cannon shot
at the siege of Broach
on the 25th of August 1803.
Universally and most sincerely
regretted by all[3] his
brother Officers.

To us, who are nearer the time, the mistakes may appear trivial, but after several centuries they, especially the mistake of "Her Majesty" for "His Majesty," may cause serious doubts about the date. A future student of historical data may, in the absence of other materials to put him on the right track, long linger in doubts about the date. If he takes the word "Her Majesty" to be correct, he may think, that perhaps the year 1803, given later on, may be a mistake for 1893 or for some other year. If he takes the date as correct, he may linger in doubts about the period of Her Majesty's reign.

I found similar carelessness on the part of either the copyist or the printers, in the matter of the inscription on the slab in the compound of the Civil Hospital within the fort on the grave of Brigadier David Wedderburn, who was killed while storming the city. He is the officer who is often referred to with curses and maledictions by Abas Alli in

[1] The name is not Sempie as given by the *Gazetteer*.

[2] The *Gazetteer* gives "Her Majesty," which is not, and cannot be, correct, as the year is 1803 when the late Queen had not come to the throne.

[3] The *Gazetteer* omits this word.

his Urdu Kisseh-i-Broach to which I will refer later on. I give below a list of the errors and my amendations :—

Line of the inscription as given in the Gazetteer.	The Gazetteer's errors.	Correction.
Line 6 ...	July 26th, 1861 ...	July 22nd 1761.
,, 6 ...	arrived	arrived here.
,, 8 ...	Supreme Highness ...	Serene Highness.
,, 16 ...	Kirk Denkun (? ...	Kirch Denckern.
,, 16 ...	Hillock	Hiltrup.
,, 18 ...	Luxenburg	Lunenburg.
,, 20 ...	pounds, was made ...	pounds, and was made.
,, 26 ...	The troops	Their Troops.

To come back to the subject of the Dutch factory, the ancestors of Mr. Doolabhbhai Hargovandass (દુલભભાઈ હરગોવનદાસ,) who is now living, were in possession of a part of the Dutch factory building. One of these ancestors, Kisorebhai Tricumbhai (કીસોરભાઈ ત્રીકમભાઈ), was the broker or agent of the Dutch factory. He had relations with the Dutch in connection with their four factories of Agra, Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat. When the English took Broach, they made the place too hot for the Dutch. So they left it, but the factors being indebted to the broker, Mr. Kisorebhai, they gave him the factory-house in settlement for their debt. Laloobhai Divan, whose name is mentioned more than once in the Urdu account of the Nawab of Broach, as one who played false to his master the Nawab, and secretly assisted the British, then had it in mortgage from the proprietor for a small sum. He is said to have obtained it under a threat, saying, that, if the then owner did not mortgage it to him, he (Laloobhai) would ask the British to loot it. They mortgaged it to him with a curse that the owner may not be happy. So, the curse was said to live long on the subsequent owners, who, all in turn, are said to have been ruined in their business. The building is said to have once passed into the hands of Mr. Merwanji Frazer of Surat and of Mr. Merwanji Framji Panday of Bombay. I give this account on the authority of a member of the family. I had no other means to verify it.

II.

The past History of Broach.

The next subject which drew my attention during my visit, and on which I beg to submit a few notes, is its past history especially from a Parsee point of view. It is said that the Parsees had, in more than one place, some hand, however small it may be, in the establishment

of the British power in this Presidency. Now, in the case of Broach, the information has come to me as a surprise, that it was the religious dispute, which the Parsees had among themselves in the 18th century on the question of the Kabiseh or the intercalary day, that had something to do, though indirectly and though very little, with the conquest of Broach by the British. The fact has been recorded, not by a Parsee author, but by a Mahomedan author who was a favourite courtier of the Nawab of Broach.

Before coming to this subject, I will put down here in brief (A) a short outline of the history of Broach from a Parsee point of view and (B) of the events that had brought about the rule of the Nawabs in Broach.

(A) History from the Parsee point of view.

Firstly, taking a bird's eye view of the history of Broach from the point of view of the modern Parsees and their ancestors, the ancient Persians we determine the following land-marks :—

1. Fireshtê dwells at some length on the early connection of India with the ancient Persians, beginning with the very early dynasties of the Peshdâdians and the Kiânians. He makes an Indian king Krishna a contemporary of the Iranian monarch Tahmurasp and then traces the relations, both friendly and hostile, subsisting at one time or another, between the Indian and the Persian kings. We would lay aside this narrative as one not standing on certain historical ground.

2. We have the authority of the Behistun Cuneiform inscriptions to say, that there was a closer connection between India and Persia, the former being one of the satrapies of the latter. But we would lay aside the consideration of that connection also, as we are not sure whether the influence of Persia extended so far as Broach.

3. But when we come to the Parthian times, we stand upon somewhat surer grounds. Fireshtê speaks of an Indian king Sinsârchand and says that he paid tribute to the Iranian king Godrez. Briggs says that this Sinsârchand was the Chandragupta of the Hindus and the Sandrocotus of the Greeks (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I.). Now we know, that there was a king of the name of Godrez among the Parthian line of kings. The Sinsârchand, with whom his relations are referred to, seems to be, not Chandragupta himself, but one of his successors.

Again in the second century before Christ some of the Bactrian kings are said to have sent expeditions to the south so far as Cutch and Gujerât (181-167 B.C.). Here then we see, that with the successes of these expeditions in Gujerat, Broach must have passed for some time into

the hands of the Parthian kings of Persia. It continued for some time under the Parthian rule. It is to this fact, that the Gazetteer of Surat and Broach refers, when it says: "About 1,800 years ago, Broach seems to have passed into the hands of Parthian princes, known by the name of Sâhas or Kshatrapas. Rudradâman's Girnâr inscription, dated in the year seventy-two, probably of the Sâka era (A.D. 150), states this distinctly, and the occurrence of Sâha coins in the Broach District confirms it."[1]

Menander to whom Prof. Wilson assigns the date B.C. 126, was connected with Parthia. He held paramount authority in Saurashtra. According to the author of the Periplus his coins were current in Broach in the first century after Christ.[2]

4. Coming to Sassanian times, we find Wilford[3] saying that Gand'harva, referred to in the Agni Purâna and known as the Gadhârupa in Indian history, was the same as Behrâmgour of Persian history. In my paper on "The Bas-relief of Behrâmgour at Naksha-i-Rustam, and his marriage with an Indian Princess",[4] I have added a few points of similarity to those advanced by Wilford to prove the identity. Now, Wilford says of this monarch that Hindus "show to this day (1809), the place where he (Behrâmgour or Gadhâ-rupa) lived about one day's march to the north of Broach, with the ruins of his palace. In old records, this place is called Gad'hendra-puri or the town of the lord of asses. The present name is Goshêrâ or Ghojârâ for Ghosha-râyâ or Ghosha-râjâ : for, says my Pandit, who is a native of that country, the inhabitants, being ashamed of its true name, have softened it into Ghoshera, which has no meaning."[5] According to Firdousi, the throne of Kanaouj passed, by virtue of the last testament of Sangel, the Hindu king, to the Persian king Behrâmgour and his heirs. This confirms what Wilford says that "the dynasty of the Gardabhinas is probably that of the descendants and successors of Behrâm Gur in Persia. The princes in the north-western parts of India were vassals of the Persian kings at a very early period ; and the father-in-law of Behrâm-Gur used to send a yearly tribute to them."[6]

The legend on a set of old Indian coins, popularly known as "Gadhia-ka paisâ," supports the fact of Behrâmgour's visit to India and his marriage with an Indian princess, the daughter of the king of

[1] Bombay Gazetteer, Surat and Broach, Vol. II, p. 464.

[2] Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII, pp. 35-36.

[3] Asiatic Researches, IX, pp. 147—151.

[4] Read before the B. B. R. A. S. on 17th Dec. 1894 Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX., pp. 58—75.

[5] Asiatic Researches, IX, p. 151.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 155.

Kanouj referred to by Wilford. Prinsep affords us very valuable help on this point. In his essay on Saurâstra coins he says that the type of the series of Indian coins known as Gadhia-ka paisâ is an "example of imitation of a Grecian original,"[1] and that "a comparison (of these coins) with the coins of the Arsakian and Sassanian dynasties of Persia, which are confessedly of Greek origin," satisfactorily proves that. Prinsep says on the subject of these coins : "The popular name for these rude coins—of silver and copper—is, according to Burnes, in Gujarât, 'Gadhia-ka paisâ,' 'Ass money,' or rather, 'the money of Gadhia,' a name of Vikramâditya. . . . . The Hindus insist that this Vikrama was not a paramount sovereign of India, but only a powerful king of the western provinces, his capital being Cambât or Cambay : and it is certain that the princes of these parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. The veteran antiquarian, Wilford, would have been delighted, could he have witnessed a confirmation of his theories afforded by the coins before us, borne out by the local tradition of a people now unable even to guess at the nature of the curious and barbarous marks on them. None but a professed studier of coins could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face after the Persian model, on one side, and the actual Sassanian fire altar on the other ; yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the accumulation of lines and dots (on the figures of the coins) will prove. Should this fire-altar be admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurâshtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yesdijird, the son of Behrâm-Gor ; supported by the concurrent testimony of the Agni-purâna, that Vikrama, the son of Gadhâ-rupa, should ascend the throne of Mâlayâ (Ujjain) 753 years after the expiation of Chânakya or A.D. 441." [2]

A painting in the Âjanta caves refers to a Persian embassy to India. This also seems to refer to Behrâmgour, who, according to Firdousi, came in disguise as his own ambassador.

We have so far seen, that ancient Persians had some connection with the country round Broach, and that old tradition, as found in the Agni-purâna, and old coins proves that connection.

Now, we will speak of the connection of Broach with the early Parsee settlers in India.

(*a*) Div in Kathiâwâr was the first port where a band of refugees from Persia had landed in 761 A.D., and Sanjân the first place where they made their permanent settlement in 785 A.D. and built their first fire-temple in 790 A.D. They continued there for full 300 years,

[1] Essays on Indian Antiquities, by James Prinsep, edited by E. Thomas (1858), Vol. I, p. 335.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 341-42.

Then they began to disperse in the different cities of Gujarat of which Broach was one.

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan, thus refers to this exodus from Sanjan [1] :

بد ینسان سال سیصد شدکم وبیش ــ وزانجا چند مردم شد کم وبیش
پراگنده شده در کشور هند ــ بهر جانب گرفته جاي دلبند
ببانکانیر بعضي رو نهادند ــ کسان در جانب بروج فتادند

Translation.—In this way, passed away 300 years, more or less (*i.e.*, about 300 years), as several persons, more or less, went away from that place. They were dispersed in the country of India and they got hold of (*i.e.*, took abode in) attractive places in all directions. Many went to Bânkânir. Some went in the direction of Broach.

(*b*) This was in 1090. Two hundred years after this event, *i.e.*, in 1270 A.D. they divided Gujarat into five *panthaks*, *i.e.*, ecclesiastical divisions for the performance of sacerdotal functions. This was to avoid differences and quarrels among the priesthood about the spheres of their work. The Kisseh-i-Zarthushtiân-i-Hindustân thus speaks of this event. [2]

یکی روز هم داناي سنجان ــ جمع گشتند و بستند عهد ازجان
کنیم تقسیم مایان این هم جاي ــ که هرجا هست بهدینان خوشراي
هم جارا بکرده پنج تقسیم ــ نخست سنجان که سرحدش بدان بیم
که حد او بود اي مرد خوشطور ــ ز رود پار تا آن رود دنتور
هم بهدین که چون درحد سنجان ــ بحکم موبدان باشند باجان
دگر تقسیم نوساري همي دان ــ بداده موبدانرا از دل وجان
ز رود پار تا آن رود بریاو ــ هم نوساریانرا اندر آن تاو
مجال کسي نباشد در اینجا ــ هم حد خود سازند ملجا
تو کودارهٔ بدان تقسیم سیوم ــ ز بریاو تا اوکلسراي نیکو بوم
کنند آنجا هم کوداریان کار ــ بجان و دل هم موبد شونه یار
تو تقسیم چهارم اي نیکودان ــ بدان بهروچ کو گویم حد و پیمان
ز اوکلیسر که تا کنبایت داني ــ هم سرحد بهروچیان بداني
توداني تقسیم پنجم اي نیکومرد ــ بگویم تا شد و معلوم اي رد
که کنبایت بگفتم مرد دانا ــ بدینسان کرد شهر و ساوا
هم داناي سنجان اینچنین کار ــ بکرده تانباشد کین و پیکار

[1] *Vide* my "A few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 14
[2] *Vide Ibid*, pp. 16-17.

Translation.—" One day all the wise men of Sanjan assembled and entered into a contract sincerely. (They said :) " We will divide all these places where there are laymen of good thoughts." They divided all these places into five parts. First is Sanjan, whose limit was in that direction. O men of good nature ! its limit is from the river Pâr to that of Dantur. All the laymen, when they are within the limits of Sanjan, may be willingly under the orders of the Mobads (thereof). Know the other divisision to be Naôsâri. It was given to the Mobads with all heart and life (*i.e.*, with a sincere heart). All (the country) from the river Pâr to the river Bariâv, was under the power of the Naôsariâns (*i.e.*, the Naosari Mobad). Nobody else would have any control therein. All would have security in their own jurisdiction. O good-natured man ! Know the third division to be Godareh from Bariâv to Aklesar. All the Godârians will officiate at that place, and all the Mobads may be friendly with their heart and soul. O man of good knowledge ! Know the fourth division to be Broach, whose limit and measurement, I will now tell you. Know that (division) to be from Aklesar to Khambâyet. Know all that to be the limit of the people of Broach. O good man ! Know the fifth division. O leader! I will tell that to you, so that you may know it. Wise men have named it Khambâyet. In this way they have divided the towns and places. The wisemen of Sanjân have done this work (of division), so that there may be no quarrel and dispute."

(*c*) A good number of Parsees must have settled in Broach before this date (1290 A.D.) of the division of *panthaks* or ecclesiastical jurisdictions. On the authority of a manuscript book of a Hindu gentleman at Baroda, Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel, says that a brick Tower-of-Silence was built at Broach in Samvat 1365, *i.e.*, 1309 A.D. A brick tower even earlier than this is said to have been built there. I saw the ruins of a brick Tower-of-Silence on the 1st of January 1907. Though the outside of it shows very little difference from the modern towers, the inside seems to differ a good deal. For example we do not find in it different rows for males, females and children as are found in the modern towers.

(*d*) We learn from the Persian Revayets, that Broach continued to be a Parsee centre for several centuries. In the letters received from the Zoroastrians of Persia by the Parsees of India, in reply to their questions on various religious subjects, we find Broach specially named, as one of the Parsee towns. The following Revayets mention the name of Broach.

1. The Revayet of 847 Yazdzardi (1478 A.D.) brought from Persia by Narimân Hoshang.

The Revayet of 850 Yazdazardi (1481) brought by Narimân Hoshang.

2. The Revayet of 1511 A.D. brought by an unnamed messenger.
3. The Revayet of 1533 brought by Kâus Kâmdin.
4. The Revayet of 1626 brought by Bahman Aspandyâr.
5. The Revayet of 1627 brought by Bahman Poonjieh.

Not only did Broach Parsees take a part in these enquiries on religious subjects, but, at times, they sent messengers to Persia for the purpose from their own town. For example Narimân Hoshang, the messenger who went to Persia in 1478 and 1481 was a Parsee of Broach. Again Kâus Mahyar, who went to Persia in 1597 A.D., and Kaus Rustam Jelal, who went in 1768, belonged to Broach.

(B) The rule of the Nabobs.

Now I will give here a short outline of the events that had brought about the rule of the Nawâbs, in the reigns of the last two of whom, the Kabiseh controversy of the Parsees seems to have raged a good deal, and is said to have had an influence on the state of affairs then prevailing.

In 1660 Aurangzeb got the city walls destroyed, because the city had long withstood his siege during the time of his war with his brothers. In 1675 the Mahrattas under Sivajee attacked the town and levied contributions. Finding the city without a wall for protection they returned in 1686 under Sivajee's son Sambhajee and plundered it. So, Aurangzeb ordered the city walls to be built again.[1]

In 1696 Avory, an English pirate, had plundered several Mahomedan pilgrim ships. So, the English factory at Broach was closed like that at Surat and the British factors put into chains. In 1702 matters seem to have improved and the factory was again working. Before the middle of the 18th century the English and the Dutch both had withdrawn their factories. The Dutch returned sometime before 1772. In 1772 the English conquered Broach. It remained in their possession for about 10 years. In 1782 it was given to the Peishwa and in 1803 it was taken back by the British and is in their possession since that time.

1 The *Broach Gazetteer*, II, p. 468.

Hamilton says. "In Aurangzeb's wars with his brothers, about the year 1660, this town held out a great while against his army. That season proving a dr one Aurangzeb's folks suffered much for want of fresh water and provisions. but at last he took it, and put all to the sword that had borne arms against him, and raz'd part of the walls, and pronounced a curse on them that should repair them again. But the Sivajee's incursions made him order the rebuilding then himself, and he christened it *Suckabant* or the dry city. (A new account of the East Indies by Capt. Alexander Hamilton, 1744, Vol I., p. 145.)

Before 1722, Nizam-ul-Mulk was the Viceroy of Gujerat under the Moguls. During his viceroyalty, he had made Broach a part of his private estate. In 1722, he assumed independence in Deccan. In 1736 Abhasing was the Viceroy of Gujerat. At this time, Abdulla Beg, held Broach from the Nizam-ul-Mulk under the title of Nek Âlam Khân. He was the founder of the line of Nabobs who ruled for 36 years. He died in 1738 and was succeeded by his second son Mirzâ Beg who ruled up to the time of his death in 1752 under the title of Nek Âlam Khân II. Mirza Beg was succeeded by his brother who died within 3 months. On the death of his brother, the succession was in dispute for two years. At last Syed Idrus of Surat, who had great religious influence, espoused the cause of Mirza Ahmed Beg, a grandson of Abdulla Beg, and placed him on the throne. This Mirza Ahmed died in 1768 and was succeeded by his son Mazed Khan, the last of the Nawabs. The following table shows the genealogy of these Nawábs :—

Genealogical table of the Nawabs of Broach.

Abdulla Beg (or Nek Âlam Khân I.) 1736-38

First son (name not known).	(Second son) Mirza Beg (or Nek Âlum Khan II) 1738-52.	Third son who succeeded his brother Mirza Beg and ruled for 3 months. No successor for two years, 1752-54.
Mirza Ahmed Beg, 1754—68.		
Mâzad Khan, 1768-72. (the last Nawab, overthrown by the British.)		

Now it was between this Mâzad Khan and the British that a dispute arose. The Gazetteer (Vol. II, p. 469) gives the following account of the dispute, prepared from the correspondence recorded in some of the volumes of the Secretariat Records :—

"The political connection of the English Company with Broach dates from their capture of Surat in 1759. There were certain claims of the Nawáb of Surat upon the customs revenue of the Port of Broach. These, together with a sum due to the English on account of an excessive levy of duties on cloth, amounting altogether to £15,000 (Rs. 1,50,000), the Nawab of Broach was called upon to pay. In the early months of 1771 a body of the Company's troop in the neighbourhood of Surat was engaged against the Kolis. In the hope that a military display might

induce the Nawáb to propose some settlement of the claims made against him, the chief of Surat was directed to transport this force by sea to the neighbourhood of Broach. These instructions the factors at Surat did not carry out. . . . ."

The Nabob and the English.

We see from this account that the *casus belli* was a claim of money upon the Nawáb by the English.

Now the native account of the fight of the English with the Nawáb, referred to above, throws some further light upon this matter, and says that a Parsee of Surat was partly at the bottom of this question. This native account is very interesting from a Parsee point of view, because, as said above, it suggests that the question of *kabíseh*, or of the calculation of an intercalary month, which had produced a schism among the Parsees of India in the 18th century and which has produced among them two sects—the Kadmis and the Shâhanshahis—had some connection with the above dispute between the English and the Nawáb of Broach.

The native account, which I beg to present, is that of a Mahomedan writer named Sayed Abbas Ali. He has written a short history of this dispute and the subsequent battle between the English and the Nawáb of Broach under the title of " Kisseh-i-Nawáb Majuzkhan Bahadur of Broach."[1] It was written in Urdu. It has not been published and I have not been fortunate in seeing it in the original Urdu. But a Gujerati translation of it was published in 1869 by Mobed Byramji Fardoonji Vakil[2] of Broach under the title of ભરૂચના નવાબ મોઝોમુજખાન બાહાદુરનો કીસ્સો. Two hundred copies of it were published then. The translation being out of print, in 1894, Mr. Sorabji Framji Byramji Vakil, a grandson of the original translator, published a second edition. I am indebted to my friend Khan Bahadur Adarji Mancherji Dalal for a copy of it. I think that the Gazetteer refers to the above *Kisseh* in its account of " the local details of the capture" of Broach when it says that it gives it on the authority of " A life of Mâzad Khân," by one of his courtiers. The name of the Nawáb, as given by the *Kisseh*, is Maozuzkhan while the English writer gives it as Mazad Khan. The difference is not very important when we know that the last letter dâl in the Urdu name, if written or read with an additional dot (*nukteh*), can be read ' z ' instead of ' d '.

1 I give this title as given by the translator of the *Kisseh*. According to Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonji Munsiff of Broach, the author called his work "Kisseh-i-Gamgeenee," *i.e.*, " The Story of Sorrow," probably because it described the downfall of the Nawáb's regime. It was written in 1193 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1785 A.D.

2 Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonjee Munsiff in his letter, dated 5th January 1907, writes to me that he knew this translator. He was a priest and was practising in the Broach District Court in his full dress of *Jama Pichodi*.

The Nabob and the Kabiseh controversy.

Now the *Kisseh* gives the following account of the commencement of the dispute which, as said above, is interesting from a Parsee point of view:—

The Nawáb of Surat was Sayad Hakijuldin Khan. An Englishman, named Mr. Sam Gabrier[1], was the head of the English factory on behalf of the Company. Among the Parsees at Surat, there arose a great dispute about the calculation of time,[2] the difference of a month in calculation having arisen as the result of some letters received from Persia. There arose two parties. At the head of one, the Rasmi, who adhered to the old previous calculation was Minocher[3]. At the head of the other sect, the Kadmis, was Dhunjee[4]. The dispute had continued for some time[5]. During that dispute Dhunjee, the leader of the Kadmi sect of Surat, writes to the Nawáb of Broach to inquire into the matter of the question under discussion. He also wrote to his own Mulla[6]. The Nawáb, therefore, sent for the two *âkhuns i.e.*, preceptors of the Parsees, one Dastur Kamdin[7] by name and another Pâdshâ[8]. He asked them to tell correct facts as described in religious books. Dastur Kamdin after a long consideration said, that what Muncher, the leader of the Rasmis, said was correct and

[1] This Mr. Gabrier is Mr. Gambier of our historical writers.

[2] It was in 1720, that one Jamasp, known as Jamasp Velayati, came from Persia to India and pointed out the difference of one month between the calculation of the Zoroastrians of Persia and that of the Zoroastrians of India. In 1736, a layman, named Jamshed, from Persia, revived the question. In 1745, the Parsees of Surat had a regular schism for the first time. In 1768, Dhanjishaw Manjishaw sent Mobad Kâus Rustam Jalâl of Broach to Persia to study the question there.

[3] Mr. Muncherjee Kharshedji Seth (1714-1784). He was the broker of the Dutch Factory at Surat. He had great influence with the Nawâb of Surat. He had twice been to Delhi to the Mogul Court for business purposes. Anquetil Du Perron (Le Zend Avestâ I, Partie I, p. cccxv) speaks of him as the courtier (broker) of the Dutch and as the chief of the Parsees of Surat (le premier des Parses de Surat).

[4] Dhanjeeshaw Manjishaw (1713-1788). He was a great merchant of Surat and was the broker of the English factory. *Vide* foot-note No. 2 above.

[5] In 1768, the dispute had taken a serious turn in Broach itself, and Dastur Kâmdinjee of Broach, the leading priest of the Shahanshahis or the Rasmis, was sent to jail. The new party there was headed by Kaus Rustam Jalal who was the father of Mulla Feroze and who was sent to Persia in the same year by Dhunjeeshaw Manjishaw. The Nawab of Broach referred the matter to the Panchayets of Naosari and Surat. After some discussion lasting for several months, the Punchayet of Surat wrote to Broach to continue in the Rasmi belief (*vide* "Parsee Prakash," I, p. 863).

[6] *I.e.*, the high priest who led his sect. This was Kaus Rustam Jalal.

[7] Dastur Kamdinjee Fardunjee (1731-1781) who belonged to the Shahanshahi sect. He was the father of Aspandiarjee, who published, in 1826, "કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓનો કસર."

[8] According to the "Parsee Prakash" (Vol. I, p. 62) he was a well-known Kadmi priest of Broach. Homâji who is honoured by the Parsees of Broach as a martyr was hanged for killing Behanbai, the sister of Pâdshâh. She was a staunch Kadmi. A manuscript book on the Kabiseh controversy, in my possession, gives Pâdshâh's personal name as Rustomji. He was the great great grandfather of Mr. Burjorjee, the present Kadmi head-priest of the Mazagon fire-temple of Mr. Framji Patel.

what Dhunjee, the leader of the Kadmis, said was wrong. The Nawáb wrote accordingly to Dhunjee. So Dhunjee was enraged against the Nawáb of Broach for not having gained the opinion of the priests and for not having decided in the favour of his sect. He had a grudge against the Nawáb and he was on a look out to wreak his vengeance.

Now it so happened, that some time after this event, the Nawáb stopped, at the Customs Office at Broach, some of the goods of merchandise belonging to Dhunjee, saying that custom duty was due on them. Dhunjee claimed exemption, but the Nawáb refused it and confiscated the goods. Dhunjee had to pay the custom dues. Dhunjee then went before Mr. Gambier, the head of the English factory at Surat, with whom he had great influence, and said that the Custom House of Broach was from the first under the control of the Port of Surat, that its income was about Rs. 1,00,000 per year, and that the Nawáb has not been paying it to the Surat factory for the last 40 years. Dhunjee succeeded in influencing Mr. Gambier, who wrote to the Nawáb of Broach claiming a sum of 40 lakhs as due from him to the Government of Surat which had the right of enjoying the customs duties at Broach. The Nawáb indignantly repudiated the claim. Thereupon Mr. Gambier declared war. Thus, it appears, that according to the native author, a religious dispute amongst the Parsees of the time had some connection with the fight between the Nawáb of Broach and the English.

The conquest of Broach.

We will now examine the Urdu *Kisseh* a little further, as it presents a few new facts from the Nawáb's point of view and throws some side light on the question of the fight between the British and the Nawáb.

Speaking of the fight, the Urdu *Kisseh* says that the Nawáb of Broach had asked assistance from Fatesingrao of Baroda, the Nawáb of Cambay, the Ruler of Dholka and the Raja of Rajpipla. Fatesing of Baroda is said to have had some sinister motives in sending his army for assistance. He was himself looking for an opportunity to seize Broach.

The English expedition to Broach was accompanied by 700 men belonging to the Nawáb of Surat under the command of the Bakhshi or paymaster.[1] About this Bakhshi, the *Kisseh* says that he was in sympathy with the Nawáb of Broach and had sent a secret message to him about the advance of the British.

As the English account says, the expedition ended in a failure. "The management of the expedition had been in many points

1 *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

contrary to the instructions of the Bombay Government, and had ended in so complete a failure ; the conduct of the officers concerned was made the subject of a committee of inquiry. The result of the inquiry was that Mr. Draper, the Chief of the factory at Surat, was removed and the other members subjected to severe reprimand and censure.[1] The native account gives a few details of the fight which, it says, lasted for 17 days.

The *Kisseh* says that Gambier sent a message with one Hirjee[2] seeking for peace. The Nawáb sent a message saying that " if you want peace I will not want war, but if you will want war I will not delay to fight."

اگر صلح خواهي نخواهم جنگ
وگر جنگ جوي ندارم درنگ

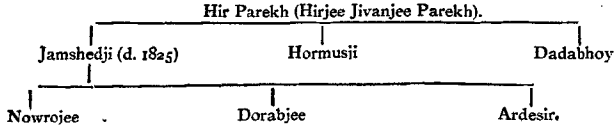
Mr. Gambier returned to Surat and then sent a fresh demand of about 4 lacs of Rupees. He asked Laloo, the Dewan of the Nawáb of Broach, whom he had taken with him to Surat, Dhunjee, the Parsee broker of the English factory, and Muncher, the Parsee broker of the Dutch factory, to meet Kalooba, the Dewan of Fatesingrao of Baroda and suggest some means for recovering some money from the Nawáb of Broach. The result of their consultation was not known.

The Nabob's visit to Bombay.

The Gazetteer says, " on the 30th July, 1771, the Bombay Government received a letter from the Nawáb of Broach, offering to visit Bombay with the view of settling in person the claims brought against him. Màzad Khan's proposal was accepted, vessels were sent to Broach, and,

1 *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

2 We learn from the " Parsee Prakash " (I. p. 191) that this Hirjee was a well-known Parsee of Surat. His full name was Hirjee Jivanjee Parekh and he was known as Hir Parekh, He was the *karbhari*, *i.e.*, the household manager of Kaim-ul-Dawlla, the Nawáb of Surat. He had such a great influence with the Nawab that the people of Surat generally said that હીરને કર્યા સો પીરને કર્યા (Hirnè kyâ so pir ne kyâ), *i.e.*, whatever was don by Hir was taken (by the Nawáb) to have been done by the Pir, *i.e.*, the spiritual guide. He seems to have died long before 1825 A. D., because his son Jamsedji, who was a great merchant, is reported to have died in 1825 A. D., at the ripe old age of 75. (" Parsee Prakash," p. 191.) His family was long known in Surat after his death. The following table gives the names of his sons and grandsons :—



setting out at the close of the stormy season, the Nawáb reached Bombay on the 4th November 1771. While in Bombay Mâzad Khan was treated with every consideration."[1]

Abâs Ali's Urdu account says that it was the Government of Bombay that first invited him to go to Bombay. He refused at first, but being requested again, offered to go, not by land, but by sea and in full state. So ships were sent for him to Broach, in charge of Morley. One Parsee Nowrojee[2] accompanied him.

Abas Ali's account of the Nawáb's visit to Bombay is very interesting, especially now, when the particulars of the visit of the Amir of Afghanistan are just fresh in our mind. The Nawáb of Broach was then considered to be a personage of great position. The words અમભી નવાબ ભરૂચકે (Ambhi Nawáb Bharooch ke) *i.e.*, "I am also the Nawáb of Broach," form a proverb in the Gujarati language. When a person claims some honor or precedence and puts on airs of being a

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1 Gazetteer II, p. 470.

2 We learn from the "Parsee Prakash," (I. pp. 97 and 98) that this Parsee Nowrojee was Nowrojee Nanabhoy Khambatta who died in 1804 A. D, at the ripe old age of 90. He was a forefather of Mr. Kharshedji Dinshaw Khambatta of Bombay. At first, he was an inhabitant of Bombay. From there, he had gone to Surat for trade. He was known among the Parsees as મોર્લીનાં નવરોજી (Morley nâ Nowrojee), *i.e.*, Morley's Nowrojee. This Morley is Mr. James Morley, the Resident of Broach, referred to by the Gazetteer (The Gazetteer of Broach, Vol. II, p. 471), and referred to by the *kisseh*.

Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramji Patel thus refers in his "Parsee Prakash," (Vol. I, p. 27), to the fact of this Nowrojee going to Broach with Morley.

"ત્યાંથી (સુરતથી) ઈ. સ. ૧૮૦૨ માં મી૦ મોરલી નામના ઈસ્ટ ઈન્ડીયા કંપનીના એક અમલદાર સાથે ભરૂચનાં નવાબ મોજુજખાન પાસે જમીનને લગતું કાંઇ લેહણું વસુલ કરવાને ભરૂચ આવ્યા હતા. એ પછી એવામે પોતાનાં કુટુંબ સહીત ત્યાંજ મથક કીધું હતું. તથા ત્યાં મોરલીના નવરોજીને નામે ઓળખાતા હતા. ઈ. સ. ૧૮૦૩ માં ઇંગ્રેજ સરકારે ભરૂચ લીધા પછી તેમની છાવણીમાં ખેપતો માલ વીગેરે પુરૂ પાડવાનું કંટ્રાકટ એવણે લીધું હતું."

Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel gives no authority for his above statement, but on enquiring from him, he says that he has given this statement as he had heard it at Broach.

Now we find from the *kisseh* that the fact of Nowrojee going to Broach with Morley is correct, but the date of their arrival is not correct. In the first place, the Nawáb Maujuzkhan was dead long before 1802 when. Morley and Nowrojee are reported to have gone to Broach to demand the land-dues said to have been due from him. The error in the date seems to have arisen from the fact of mistaking the first conquest of Broach by the British in 1772 A. D., for the second conquest in 1803. After the first conquest and after keeping it for about 11 years, Broach was ceded to the Peshwa in 1783 in accordance with a treaty known as the Treaty of Sâlbai (the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 474). For 19 years it remained in the hands of the Mahrattas and then it was reconquered in 1803. So, the fact referred to by Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel occurred in 1772 after the first conquest and not in 1803 after the second conquest. The Gazetteer Vol. II, p. 472 says, "On the news of the capture of Broach, Mr. James Morley was appointed resident, with Messrs. James Cheape and William Mahon, joint factors, for the management of the concern and for collecting the revenues of the town." So the event referred to in the "Parsee Prakash" must be that of 1772.

great man this proverb is applied to him. Now it seems that the Nawáb of Broach was feted and received with honour in 1772 in the same way as the Amir has been now. I cull the following account from Abbas Ali's version :—

When Mr. Morley reached Broach, the Nawab was still in mourning for the death of his *ustâd* or spiritual guide. Two days were wanting to complete the 40 days' period of mourning. So Mr. Morley saw the Nawáb two days after his arrival. Then the Nawáb consulted his courtiers about his proposed visit. Some advised him to go and others disuaded him. But at length he resolved to go. He sent his *pâigah, i.e.*, infantry troops to Bombay by way of land. He took with him in the ships a retinue of 1,000 persons of whom about 100 were his courtiers, the author of the *Kisseh* being one of them. The Nawáb had 8 sons and 6 daughters. All these began to weep at the departure of the Nawáb, who left Broach with a salute from the English ships. The ships anchored at the mouth of the river for one night and then at Surat for another night. Then from Surat it took them two days and a half to come to Bombay. They stopped on the coast of Mahim and from there Mr. Morley sent a letter with the Parsee Nowrojee to the General (*i.e.*, the Governor) of Bombay informing them of their arrival. A *haveli*, *i.e.*, a palatial building near the *furjâ*, *i.e.*, the Custom House, belonging to a Mahomedan Mulla, was furnished with carpets, chandeliers, lamps, pictures, etc., and it served as a residence for the Nawáb. About 10 to 11 battalions lined the road in honour of the Nawáb. Members of the Council headed by Mr. Wedderburn formed a deputation to receive the Nawáb. The ships which had anchored at Mahim came to Bombay, salutes were fired from all the ships in the harbour at the time when the Nawab got down from his Fatehmâri (a kind of big boat) into a boat. On coming to the shore, the Nawáb was received with a salute from the guns in the fort. Among those that had met to welcome the Nawáb, were English *madams* who were like the houris of paradise. These ladies were all moon-faced. They looked like the garden of *chaman, i.e.*, joy, their cheeks were rosy and their statures were so straight that even straight cypresses would look down with shame. Their eyes were like those of the deer and their ringlets put the lookers-on to shame. The Nawáb was pleased to see them, and, they, in their turn, were pleased to see him and began to talk about him amongst themselves. They began to make *kookoo* (*i.e.*, to talk in a whispering tone) among themselves just as five or seven *mena* birds when they meet together. After their first surprise on looking at him they collected themselves and salaamed him.

The Nawáb then got into a golden palanquin. The *chobdars* announced his arrival and departure. He was escorted by his own

body-guards. When the Nawáb came to where the artillery was stationed he was saluted by the guns. The Nawáb then reached the house of the General.

The General welcomed the Nawáb and introduced him to his wife and daughter. Two persons acted as interpreters, one of whom was a Parsee. Mr. Hornby, the Governor (of whom the author of the *Kisseh* speaks as the General) expressed his delight at the Nawáb accepting his invitation. Tea was soon served and after a short time the Nawáb departed for his residence.

The next day the Governor paid a return visit.

Governor Hornby and the Nawáb both had issued strict orders to their soldiers and sepoys that they should avoid disputes and quarrels with one another. In spite of this caution, once an European had a quarrel with a man of the Nawáb. The latter dislocated the hand of his opponent. The Nawáb therefore ordered that a hand of his servant may be cut off in punishment. This coming to the ears of the Governor, he interceded and got the man pardoned.

The Nawáb was once invited by the Governor to a private interview. The Governor, his wife and daughter met him in their garden and had their tea there. At the time of the evening prayer (*nemâz*), one of the servants of the Nawáb, while spreading the shawl to serve as a carpet, broke a valuable chandelier of Mr. Hornby's house worth about Rs. 3,000.

The Nawáb stayed in Bombay for about two months and was entertained by Mr. Wedderburn and other members of the Council.

As to the political question, to settle which the Nawáb was called to Bombay, it was arranged that the Nawáb should pay a sum of Rs. 4 lacs by six-monthly instalments within 2 years. The Nawáb then left Bombay with all honors. Mr. Morley accompanied him as the British Resident at Broach. The Nawáb, not paying the first instalment within the time fixed, Mr. Morley left his court. Another expedition, headed by General Wedderburn, and aided by Mr. Watson went to Broach. In the fight that ensued, General Wedderburn was killed, but in the end, Broach fell into the hands of the English on 18th November 1772.

III.

The Kabirvad and the *Tiraths.*

The next subject of my notes is a visit to the well-known Kabirvad (*i.e.*, the Kabir banyan tree) growing on an island formed by the sacred Nerbudda. About 130 years ago, Forbes said that the tree with

its 350 large and over 3,000 small stems occupied a space of about 2,000 ft. in circumference and sheltered about 7,000 men under it[1]. Bishop Heber considered it to be "one of the most noble groves of the world." A writer in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay said that the tree struck him "with an awe similar to what is inspired by a fine Gothic cathedral." Some of these later writers refer to the fact that the different trunks of the tree are being washed away by the floods of the river. I saw it on the morning of 2nd January 1907, and I may say, that in no sight-seeing in my travels was I so much disappointed as in the case of the Kabirvad. From a spectacular point of view, the tree, as it now stands, is not worth a visit after a long drive. The idea that I formed of the tree on seeing it, fell too short of the ideal that I had formed of its greatness from what I had read of it. We happen to see more lovely groves of banyan trees in other parts of the country. Again, the state, in which the ground on which it stands and spreads, is kept, adds to our disappointment. If it be cleared of the short brushwood growth and kept clean, the disappointment would not be so great, and the ideal not so ruthlessly spoilt. As it is, there are not even a few yards which would attract you to rest and shelter there for a few hours after a dusty journey of about 2 to 3 hours.

Tradition says that Kabir, the great poet, philosopher, and moralist, happened to be at this place. The tree grew out of the twigs of a banyan tree with which he cleaned his teeth and which he threw there. The Kabirpanth is said to have a large number of followers, and one would naturally expect to see a large number of them at this place connected traditionally with his name. But that is not the case. Very few people of his sect are seen here. Even the temple there, known as the shrine of Kabir, is served by priests of sects other than the Kabir faith.

It was the sacredness of the Nerbudda that had drawn Kabir to its banks, and it is this sacredness that gives further sanctity and importance to this Kabirvad and its shrine.

We hear the following verse about the Nerbudda and three other sacred rivers of India:—

ગંગા પાને.
જમના સ્નાને.
નર્મદા દર્શને.
તાપી સ્મર્શે.

[1] Gazetteer, p. 356.

i.e. The Gangâ (Ganges) gives sanctity by its water,
The Jamna by its baths,
The Nerbudda by its sight,
The Tapti by meditation (on its banks).

The shrine of Kabirjee near the Kabir *vad* is one of the several *tiraths* or shrines on the banks of the Nerbudda. The following is the list of such *tiraths* as dictated to me by the priest of a Luxmi Narayen temple at Sukal-tirath :—

1. Survaneshwar સુર્વાનેશ્વર. It has an image of Mahadev. It is about 15 miles from Chandod.
2. Kunbeshwar કુંબેશ્વર. It has an image of Hanumân. It is on the other side of Kaniâri.
3. Kumesomnath કુમે સોમનાથ at Kaniâri.
4. Shekh Sohiji Mahâraj શેખ સોહીજી મહારાજ near Chandod.
5. Sukhdev સુખ દેવ.
6. Vyâs વ્યાસ.
7. Gangnath ગંગનાથ near Chandod.
8. Hansoyâ Mâttâ હાંસોયા માતા near Ambawi.
9. Bhandareshwar Mahadeo ભંડારેશ્વર મહાદેવ near Senore.
10. Gunpati ગણપતી at Senore.
11. Karticksvami કાર્તીક સ્વામી near Sisodrâ.
12. Kubereshwar કુબેરેશ્વર near Kotal.
13. Kabirji કબીરજી. It has an image of Kabir and it is under the shelter of the Kabir *vad*.
14. Vadrâsu વડાસુ near Mangleshwar.
15. Sukal-tirath.

Of all the *tiraths* or the shrines on the bank of the Nerbudda near Broach, that of Sukal-tirath is the best known. In the Vâyu Purâna, it is spoken of as the best of all the Tiraths in the northern banks of the Nerbudda (सर्व तीर्थेष्वनुत्तमम्)[1]. It is about 10 miles from

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(1) ॥ श्री मार्कंडेय उवाच ॥

अतःपरं प्रवक्ष्यामि सर्व तीर्थेष्वनुत्तमम् ॥

रेवाया उत्तरे कूके शुक्ल तीर्थ युधिष्ठिर ॥ १ ॥

(as quoted in the विनंती पत्र of the temple)

i.e., Mârkand Rishi says: O Raja Yudhishtira. Hear the account that I give you of the Tirath of Shikaltirath which is situated on the northern bank of the Nerbudda and is the best of all *tir hs* (रेवा Revâ is a name of the Nerbudda).

Broach. The place itself has three tiraths or shrines, of which the holiest is that of Hunkareshwar હુંકારેશ્વર, The image in this shrine carries in its four arms the four emblems of Vishnu. In its two right arms it carries the padma, *i.e.*, the lotus and gada, *i.e.*, the sceptre or mace. In its two left arms it carries the chakra *i.e.*, the wheel or the disc, and the sankh, *i.e.*, the shell.

Tradition tells the following story about its discovery as a *tirath* :—

Chânakya, the King of Ujjain, was attacked with leprosy. It was thought to be the result of his sin.[1] So he thought of purifying himself of that sin, hoping that such a purification would cure him of his leprosy. In order to find out the most holy place, the pilgrimage of which could free him of his sin and cure him of his disease, he asked the crows, who had in those early times white feathers and not black feathers, to go to the death-god Yama and to tell him that king Chânakya was dead. On hearing this news, Yama gave instructions as to where his soul was to be led by his (Yama's) attendants for purification. The crows heard the instructions and returning to Chânakya said that the place of purification was somewhere on the Nerbudda, that he must sail down the Nerbudda in a boat with black sails, and that the place where the sails turned from black to white, might be taken as the place of purification. The king did accordingly, and while sailing down the Nerbudda, when he came down to the village of Sukaltirath, the sails immediately turned white. The king got out on the shore and bathed at that place in the sand and in the water of the Nerbudda and was purified of his sin and cured of his leprosy. When the death-king Yama knew of the trick played upon him by the crows at the instance of Chânakya, he punished the crows by cursing them and by changing to black their feathers, which were up to then white. It is for this reason that we have the black colour of the crows.[2]

This story of Yama, sin, leprosy, and the crows reminds us of the belief of the ancient Persians about leprosy. Herodotus says of the Persians (Bk. I. 138) :—

"Whosoever of the citizens has the leprosy or scrofula, is not permitted to stay within a town, nor to have communication with other Persians ; and they say that from having committed some offence against the sun a man is afflicted with these diseases. Every stranger that is seized with these distempers, many of them even drive out of the country ; and they do the same to white pigeons, making the same charges against them."

[1] According to Herodotus (I. 138), the ancient Persians also considered leprosy to be the result of sin.

[2] *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, p. 568.

We see from this passage of Herodotus that the ancient Persians also connected leprosy with sin. The white doves of this passage remind us of the white crows referred to in the above description of Sukaltirath. Again, the Yama in the above story of Sukaltirath is the Yima of the Avesta, the Jam of the Palhavi books and the Jamshed (Yima Khshaeta) of the later writings. It is in the second chapter of the Vandidad, which treats of a *vara* or stricture of Yima, that we find a reference to leprosy.

The Persians were so much afraid of the lepers, that we learn from the Classics, that Magebazus, a Persian satrap who was sentenced to be banished, took advantage of this fear prevailing among his countrymen and made his escape, pretending to be a leper.

We went to the opposite bank of the Nerbudda, where the Kabir-vad stands on an island, from Mangleshwar (મંગલેસર). Here, at Mangleshwar, I met a Rajput, whose story showed us that there are many persons in India, persons of poor means, who travel thousands of miles along the whole country of India, from the Himalayas in the North to Rameshwar in the South, out of devotion to visit sacred places *tiraths* and to purify themselves. Mansing Rajput, of whom I speak, had travelled up to Badrinath, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Himalayas. He had brought with him the sacred water of the Gangootri. He had kept the water in a sealed bottle and proposed to go one day to Rameshwar with that water. The sacred water of the Gangootri near Badrinath, when thrown by a pious devotee over the image of Mahadeo at Rameshwar, raises a little the size of the image, and that is a sure sign of the acceptance of the prayers of the devotee. Hundreds and thousands are said to travel the whole distance on foot. Again, there are many more hundreds and thousands who travel by train. They, at times, carry the sacred water with them in their bottles. But that is not the most acceptable way of devotion. The water is not be taken in the train by which people of all faiths and of all kinds of impurities travel. So, they say, there are professional carriers who travel to and fro from Badrinath. They receive sealed bottles of the sacred water from different pilgrims with labels of their names attached to them, and, travelling on foot, carry the bottles to the destinations of the different travellers. They charge a certain rate per bottle for their work.

APPENDIX.

Inscriptions on Dutch tombs.

In the body of my paper I have referred to the visit of Mr. J. E. Bendien, the Dutch Consul in Bombay, to the Dutch tombs at Broach. In reply to my letter referred to above, Mr. Bendien has kindly sent me

copies of the issues of the Dutch journal "Neerlandia" of the months of January and February 1907, wherein he has published an account of his visit to the towns of Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad, each of which had a Dutch factory in the 17th and 18th centuries. In his letter to me, dated 4th April 1907, Mr. Bendien says about the tombstones: "The majority of the tombstones bear no inscriptions: particularly of the larger monuments, nothing can be deciphered, as the inscriptions, if they still do exist, partly are buried under cement or whitewashed."

When I read my paper, I submitted copies of the inscriptions as I had copied them in a hasty visit; but, as I find, that Mr. Bendien has given them in the above Dutch journal, I give his copies below. Mr. Bendien has kindly translated them for me, and I give his translation also. I thank him for the help he has given me.

INSCRIPTION I.

Hier rust Johannis Groenevelt,
Die desen naam, voor Hem bestelt
Niet lange Droegh, vermits D'Doodt
Hem in ons aller Moeder schoot
Diedt draagen : En Syn leven al
Was maar 2 uyren in 't Getal
Obyt en wiert geboren in Brootsch
Den 10 Sept : 1666.

Translation.—Here lies Johannis Groenevelt who did not bear very long this name which was ordered for him, as death carried him to the lap of Mother Earth, and his life was only hours 2 in number. Died and was born in Broach on the 10th September 1666.

Mr. Bendien thinks that perhaps this was the first child of Mr. Groenevelt who first founded a regular factory at Broach and was its first director. We find his name on the sun-dial with the date 1700 A. D.

INSCRIPTION II.

"Hire rust Anna Marrianne Van Brondhout (?) 22 Maenden en 10 Daagen. Obyt 23 Augusty 1654."

Translation.—Here rests Anna Marrianne Van Brondhout 22 months, 10 days. Died 23rd August 1654.

INSCRIPTION III.

"Hier onder rust Antoni Christiaan, oud 23 Maanden en 12 Daagen. Obit den 20 May, Anno 1702."

Translation.—Here rests Antoni Christian, old 23 months and 12 days. Died 20th May, year 1702.

Mr. Bendien observes in the above journal, that "It is not surprising that only the inscriptions on the children's tombs are preserved. They were the largest in number in the cemeteries of Europeans in India."

INSCRIPTION IV.

"Hic (? Hier) Jacet Jan Willem Six. In Zijn leven Secundo Alhier. Obyt den 32 (sic) Maart, Anno 1744."

Translation.—Here lies Jan Willem Six. In his lifetime he was Second[1] here. Died the 32 (?) March, year 1744.

There is another inscription on an obelisk, on which Mr. Bendien can only read the name "Martinus."

[1] Secundo means second merchant, *i.e.*, a junior merchant. Stavorinus seems to refer to merchants of this class as junior merchants. (*Vide* above, p. 43.)

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An Account of Comets as given by Mahomedan Historians and as contained in the books of the Pishinigan or the Ancient Persians referred to by Abul Fazl.

(*Read 9th February* 1910.)

The present year is one, during which, as announced by astronomers,[1] we have to see three comets. They are the following :—

1. Halley's Comet, which appears at the interval of every 75 years. It will be at its perihelion, or the point nearest to the sun, on 18th May 1910 at about 10 a.m.

2. Temple's second periodical Comet, which appears at the interval of every $5\frac{1}{2}$ years. It was first observed in Milan on 3rd July 1873. It was subsequently seen in 1878, 1894, and 1899. It was last seen in November 1904.

3. D'Arresti's Comet which appears at every $6\frac{1}{4}$ years. It was first observed in 1851. Subsequently it was observed in 1857, 1870, 1877, 1890 and 1897. In some of the intervening years, and in 1903 when it was last expected to be seen, it could not be seen, being, as astronomers say, " unfavourably placed."

We are, as it were, on the eve of seeing Halley's comet, but before we could see this celebrated comet, whose observations by Halley have led to a great advance in the science of cometography, there appeared on our Western horizon, a new visitor which drew towards it hundreds and thousands of eyes every evening from our beautiful Backbay foreshore and from other parts of our country. I do not know if it is altogether a new visitor.

As said above, we are on the eve of seeing Halley's great comet, before which, the one that we have already seen this year is a mere child of yesterday. Some observers have already seen it with their powerful telescopes. The Directors of the Heidelberg and the Cambridge Observatories have already seen it. The Director of the latter Observatory has announced that its appearance is like that of a star

[1] *Nature* of January 1910.

of the 14th or 14·5th magnitude. At this juncture,[1] I hope, that an account of the comets as given by some Mahomedan historians, and as contained in the books of the ancient Persians will be found interesting. I think that a part of this account will be of some interest, even to scientific men, because, if I do not mistake, the account of the comets by Abul Fazl, which will form the principal part of my paper, will be presented fully for the first time, before the students of cometography.

Division of the subject.

I propose dealing with the subject under the following heads :—

I. The version of some Mahomedan historians about comets.
II. The identification of the comets seen or described by them.
III. An inquiry into the views of Mahomedan writers on comets.
IV. The influence attributed by the people to the appearance of comets.
V. The views of the *Pishinîgân* or the ancient Persians.

List of the Mahomedan Authors referred to in the Paper.

The Mahomedan authors, whose versions I propose giving, or to whom I am going to refer in this paper, are the following :—

1. Maçoudi, who lived at the end of the third century and in the first half of the fourth Hijri century. He was born in Bagdad but he had visited India. In 912 A. D., he was in Mooltan. In 916 A. D. he had again come to India and had lived at Cambay and in other places. So, though not born in India, we take him as an Indian historian for our purpose. There is only one reference to a comet in his Maruj-ul Zahb or "Prairies of Gold."

2. Abul Fazl, the celebrated Prime Minister of King Akbar of India. He describes, in his Akbar-nâmeh, a comet that he had seen in the 22nd year of the reign of Akbar (985 Hijri, 1577-78 A.D.). Before describing this comet, he writes, as it were, a long introduction, giving, not only his view of the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet, but the views of the learned of his time. While doing so, he refers to Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Hindu writers on the subject also. Having given his introduction, he describes three comets that had appeared before his time. Of course, this must be on the authority of some previous writers whom he does not name. This account of the comets will, I hope, interest some scientific men. As

[1] A paper on this subject has appeared from my pen in the "Revue de Monde Musulman" of Paris, in its issue of January 1910 (Volume X, Numero I). Later on, it was read before this Society, with some modifications and additions suggested by a further study of the subject.

far as I know, that portion of the Akbar-nâmeh, which gives this long account of the comets, is not hitherto translated into any other language. I give my own translation, in which I have followed the text, edited for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Maulawi Abd-ur-Rahim :

3. Ahmad-bin-Mahmad, the author of the Nigaristan, written in 1552 A. D.
4. Nizâm-ud-din, the author of the Tabakât-i-Akbari.
5. Badaoni, the author of the Muntakhab-ul-Tâwarikh.
6. Jehângir, the author of Wakiat-i-Jehangiri.
7. Mutamadkhan, the author of Ikbâl-nameh-i-Jehangiri.

I.

THE VERSION OF SOME MAHOMEDAN HISTORIANS ABOUT COMETS.

I will now give the version of the Mahomedan historians I have named above. I will give the versions of four in the words of their translators. The rest I have translated from the original.

I will give, at first, Abul Fazl's version about the comets, as it is the largest and fullest. As said above, I give my own translation of his version in the Akbar-nâmeh.[1]

Abul Fazl's version of the comets of 1264, 1400-1, 1433 and 1577 in his Akbar-nâmeh.

"In the matter of the appearance of a tailed comet which appeared after sunset (lit. after the time of the sitting of the great luminary—which bestows favours upon the world—on the chair of the west of the earth).

"A preface is written for a complete comprehension of the description of the symbol of the Heavens.

"When the rays of the world-illuminating sun fall on the moist earth, it is heated by the lustre of that exalted luminary, and some of the particles of water, becoming lighter rise upwards, and mixing with particles of air take an upward direction. This mixture is called vapour (*bokhâr*).

"When the parched earth becomes the seat of the heat of the illuminator of the world (*i.e.*, when it is heated by the sun), the essence of

[1] Maulawi Abd-ur-Rahim's Text for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III., pp. 221-224.

moisture from its ambuscade, is attached to dryness. Then, by the influence of the heat, particles of earth being heated become lighter, and after mixing themselves with air fly above and that intermixture is called steam (*dakhân*).

"Each of these is of two kinds. One is confined to the earth and springs, streamlets and streams come into appearance.[1]

"The second, appearing on the surface, rises up pompously. From this are formed clouds, rain, hail, thunder, lightning and such other phenomena. Books of Natural Science give explanatory accounts of these very clearly.

"Now, let a little of the manifestation of that wonderful image (*viz.*, the comet) be written for the pleasure of the garden-ground of information (*i.e.*, I will now write something about the phenomenon of a comet for the information of my readers).

"It is not concealed from (*i.e.*, it is known to) the writers of wisdom, that every time Mars attains ascendency over the tract of a country, it makes the land of the country dry, and foul vapour and steam arise in large quantities, especially, in the commencement of the year or the season, when Mars is in the 10th and when the unhappy constellation may be that of *bâdi* (*i.e.*, that of Gemini, Aquarius and Libra) and of *âtashi* (*i.e.*, of Aries, Leo and Sagittarius) and when the moon or Mercury is in the *bâdi* (*i.e.*, in the signs of Gemini, Aquarius and Libra), so that it looks towards them with an eye of amity. Anyhow, fields are then devastated and the beginning of a famine is in sight; sickness is prevalent, calamities gain strength and the thread of the pursuit of knowledge is broken.

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[1] This refers to the action of what Abul Fazl calls dakhân or steam. Here he explains, not in a clear or distinct way, how streams and springs are formed. Modern science also attributes to the formation of steam, the rise of springs, &c. Prof. Anstead's following description elucidates what Abul Fazl says :—

"Of the water that falls on the earth as rain, we have seen that a certain part runs off the surface by rivers into the sea, or is evaporated back again into the atmosphere within a very short time. The remaining part disappears. It passes into the earth's crust being absorbed into the soil and surface-rocks or entering the innumerable crevices and fissures that exist in all rocks near the surface. Making its way through permeable rocks, such as sand, or passing into natural reservoirs or along some underground channel, it circulates through the earth for a time, longer or shorter, according to circumstances, and comes at length once more to the surface. If it falls in a district greatly above the sea-level, it may issue in springs at some lower part of the same country, or, by the pressure it exerts when the rocks are full, may force out other water that has already performed a long journey. If it falls near the sea, it may still be brought back into circulation, for we know that the temperature of the interior of the earth is higher than at the surface; and it is quite possible that a little water, penetrating the depths at which it would be converted into steam, may exercise a pressure sufficient to overcome the force of gravity, and help to force up large columns of water from great depths, which may either rise through fissures at a high-temperature in thermal springs, or, oozing upwards, may again become cooled before reaching the surface. It may and does re-appear in this way naturally, and at ordinary temperatures. All water obtained or obtainable from the interior of the earth is called *spring water*, and all sources of water within the earth are called *springs*."—Physical Geography, by Prof. Anstead (1871, p. 213).

"In short, when the tenacious thick vapour (rising) from its seat, attaches itself to the first layers of atmosphere which are heated, it acquires a pleasant look (*i.e.*, is illuminated), just as the lamp-black of a lamp becomes illumined from its contact with a lighted candle. It is then called *shahâb* (*i.e.*, meteor). When it begins coming down to the earth, common people think that it is a star that is coming down. If that does not happen on account of its connection, it is not illuminated, but burns, and profiting by the different kinds of weather assumes different forms like those of a man with locks of hair, a person having a tail, a person holding a lance in his hand, an animal with horns, or the like. Depending on the differences of its position, it fades soon, or lasts long. At times dreadful red[1] or black forms appear in it. The red forms, when thick, add to the terror. When thicker, it is the black forms that cause terror. In the ancient language, such a form is named *sawât-i-najum*[2] or *Zawat'l Aswâb*[3]. Every one (of these forms) has a different name according to its feature. Thus, the one with locks is called *Zuzavâbê* (*i.e.*, the possessor of locks of hair) and the one with a tail is called *Zuzanâb* (*i.e.*, the possessor of a tail).

"In Indian books more than 100 (names) are recounted. In Greek books, seven kinds are recognized and all are considered to be of the nature of Saturn or Mars. Those with locks of hair and those with tails are known to be more unlucky. Batlimus (Ptolemy) says that between the hairy comets and the sun, there is the difference of 11 constellations. Some Greeks are of opinion that the hairy comets appear towards the East at the time of the dawn and the tailed comets appear towards the West in the early part of the evening. Certainly from the repeated sight (of such phenomena) such a supposition can be made.

"The wise men of India divide them into two kinds and take them to be auspicious and inauspicious (respectively). All are unanimous in saying this, that its (*i.e.*, the comet's) influence is reflected upon the country over whose zenith it passes or whose best inhabitants see it. It moves according to the position of the constellation in which it appears, and in accordance with the strength of the motion of the region of fire.[4] Its influences appear in proportion to (the time of)

[1] Cf. the description of the appearance of Halley's comet in 1835 by Mr. E. V. Heward :— "It glowed like a red-hot coal of oblong form." It appeared like "a blazing rocket." (The Story of Halley's comet. *The Nineteenth Century* of September 1909, p. 532).

[2] Lit. "Keeper of the ward-robe of the stars."

[3] *i.e.*, "Mistresses of locks."

[4] Compare with this, the words, "Chariot of Fire," applied to a comet by Mr. E. Vincent Heward in his Story of Halley's Comet (*The Nineteenth Century* of September 1909, p. 51 a).

its stay (*i.e.*, the longer it appears, the greater its influence as to good or bad luck to the country). In the writings of the ancients, nirangs (نیرنگ incantations) for (counteracting) these influences are mentioned more than can be described.

"Out of all (these comets) one hairy comet appeared in the year 662 Hijri.[1] The increaser of the splendour of the world (*Farugh afzâe-i-âlam*) was in the sign of Leo and had gone about 11 fingers[2] down the earth (*i.e.*, had set) in the night. The strange thing was, that it (*i.e.*, the comet) appeared to be of the proportion of the head of a big man and emitted steam from its front. It passed (*i.e.*, appeared) in the countries of Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kashgar, Fargâna, Ma'wara'u'n-nahr (Transoxania) and Khorasan. It appeared for 85 days. In all these countries, there arose rebellions. In Transoxania and Khorasân, calamities of thunder[3] and lightening and such other (phenomena) appeared.

"Many years and months had passed over this event, and then, in 803,[4] a tailed comet appeared in the zenith at Rum (Constantinople). Mulana Abdallalasan and Mahiâddin Magrabi with other astrologers of that time informed Timur, that from what the wise and the experienced have said it appears that an army (coming) from the direction of the East will be victorious in that country, and a general from that country will assist (him). Timur (lit. that illuminator of the face of fortune), who was always expecting an invasion of the country, but whose companions of poor intelligence did not acquiesce, attended to that (prediction) and convinced the great and the small (of his court) of the truth (lit. gem) of his resolution and of the insight of the star-seers.

"In the year 837,[5] on the occasion of a new moon in the first part of Libra, a tailed comet appeared (lit. gave brilliancy to the day) near the 17th lunar mansion in the north. It rose and set with it. After the lapse of several days, its special motion appeared. From that 17th lunar mansion in the north (a form like that of) a lance-holder separated (lit. assumed the face of separation), and in 8

[1] A. D. 1264.

[2] A kind of measure.

[3] Taking the word to be *ra'ad* رعد. The Bengal Asiatic Society's text gives the word as قاید which is the last star in the tail of the Lesser Bear. It also means a governor. But these words seems to have no proper meaning here. In the foot-note it gives *râyad* رایید as found in another manuscript. I think it is mistaken for *ra'ad* رعد which suits well with the next word *barâk* (براق) "flashing."

[4] 1401 A.D.

[5] 1433 A. D.

months, took the path of the camel. A great pestilence, spreading misery (round about), appeared in Herat and its dependencies. Every day more than a thousand persons died. Mirza Ibrahim, the governor of Fars and Mirza Bysangar Arghun, the King of Badakhshan, and Shaikh Zai-ud-din Khafi died in this calamity. A fierce quarrel, which took place between Mirza Shah-rokh and Sikandar Kara Yusaf, was also the consequence of this (comet).

" The learned in the mysteries of the Heavens are convinced of this, that, if it appears within the boundaries of a country, its king or his vice-regent dies. If it is declined towards the boundary, the property, *i.e.*, the country of the governor passes away from his hands,[1] and plague and diseases and afflictions add to the sickness of the country. Sudden deaths occur among the common people.

" A thousand thanks to God, that, owing to the benedictions of the holy soul of the King (Akbar), (bad) influences and misfortunes have disappeared from his dominions. If, in case, such a terrible sign (*i.e.*, a comet) appears, a great calamity does not overtake this country. In spite of such Divine protection, that intelligent person of the assembly of information (*i.e.*, the intelligent and well informed King Akbar) ordered alms to be distributed on a large scale according to the customs of the Mahomedans and Brahmans, and people of all places became cheerful. The most beautiful thing of this great liberality (*i.e.*, the result of this alms giving) was this :—

" On the day Arad (Arshisang), the 25th of the Ilâhi month Abân, at the time, when the sun made his conspicuous appearance in the sign Scorpio, this heavenly sign (*i.e.*, the tailed comet) kindled its brilliant face in the sign of Sagittarius, faced towards the west (and) inclined towards the north. It had a long tail. It had reached such a limit, that in many towns they saw it for five months. The well informed astrologers, and those skilled in the mysteries belonging to the higher (*i.e.*, celestial) assembly, explained it thus :—' That among some of the inhabited parts of Hindustan, there will be a scarcity of grain, and they specified some particular places. The time of the ruler of Iran will come to an end and in Iran and Khorasan there will arise disturbances.' All, that was said, came to pass without anything being less or diminished. A short time after, a caravan came from Iran. Some of its well informed men of truthful mind informed His Majesty of the death of Shah Tahmasp and of the murder of Sultan Haidar and of the accession to the throne of Shah Ismail.

[1] Cf. The words of Louis le Debonnaire, on seeing Halley's comet in 837 A.D. He said :— " A change of reign and the death of a prince are announced by this sign (The story of Halley's comet. *The Nineteenth Century* of September, 1909, p. 518).

"The purport of all this detailed account is this :—The King of heavenly abode (*i.e.*, King Tahmasp) died in the beginning of the Ilâhi month Khordad . . . . . [1]"

I will now give the version of other Mahomedan writers in the order in which I have named them above.

Maçoudi's Muruj-ul Zahb.

Maçoudi, speaking of the events of the Hijri year 299 (911-12 A.D.) thus speaks of the appearance of a comet in that year. Though born in Bagdad he was in India at the time when the comet appeared.[2]

"Une grêle énorme, composée de grêlons pesant un *ritl*, poids de Bagdad, tombe sur Koufah en même temps qu'une bourrasque de sirocco, au mois de ramadan ; plusieurs maisons et édifices sont renversés. Ce sinistre est suivi d'un tremblement de terre qui coûte la vie à un grand nombre d'habitants. Ces dèsastres eurent lieu à Koufah en 299. La même année est signalée par un tremblement de terre en Egypte et par l' apparition d'une cométe."[3]

The Version of Ahmad bin Mahmad, in his Nigaristan,[4] of the Comet of 941-42 A.D.

In the year 330[5] (Hijri), there appeared a comet whose tail appeared from the East to the West. It remained for 18 days. From the influence of this inauspicious sign, one *jarib*[6] of wheat cost 320 golden *miskâls*.[7] One ear of corn was worth a beast of burden,[8] the price of wheat rose so high. Men ate one another out of hunger. In the time of famine a plague appeared, so (virulent) that people had not the strength of burying the dead.

Nizam-ud-Din's Version of the Comet of 1578 in his *Tabakât-i-Akbari*. Twenty-third year of the Reign[9] (A.D. 1578-79).

"At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards Arabia, inclining to the north and continued very awful for two hours. The opinion of the Astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindustan, but probably in Khurasan and

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[1] Here follows an account as to how King Tahmasp died, Sultan Haidar was murdered, and Shah Ismail came to the throne.

[2] Macoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. I, Avant-propos p. III.

[3] Macoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. VIII, pp. 281-82.

[4] In this translation, I have followed the text published in 1245, Hijri, 1829 A.D. at the instance of Captain George Jervis (کپتان جارج جرویس صاحب) p. 70.

Vide Elliot's History of India, Vol. II., Appendix, p. 505.

[5] 941·64, *i.e.*, 941-42 A.D.

[6] Jarib is "a corn measure equal to four qafix." Qafix is "a measure containing about 64 lbs. in weight" (Steingass).

[7] "A weight of a dram and three-sevenths" (Steingass).

[8] Parvin. It also means Pleids.

[9] The beginning of the 23rd year of Jehangir's reign corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram 986 H. (11th March 1578).

Irâk. Shortly afterwards, Shâh Ismail, son of Shâh Tahmasp Safawi, departed this life, and great troubles arose in Persia."[1]

I have given Elliot's translation but have corrected it in one place. The first part of the passage as given by Nizam-ud-Din runs thus :—

دگر ظاہر شد ن دور دانہ درین ایام دروقت نماز شام درطرف عرب مایل بشمال دور دانہ زوي آسمان ظاہر شد [2]

Elliot seems to be wrong in translating the word "dar-tarf-i Arab" by "towards the East." The word "Arab" does not mean 'East.' It simply means 'Arabia.' So, the words should be translated "towards Arabia." Now, as Arabia is in the West, the words may be translated "towards the West." This translation will then tally with the statements of Badaoni and Abul Fazl, who say that the comet appeared in the West (مغرب Magreb).

There is one thing to be noticed in Nizam-ud-Din's writing. He uses the word dur-daneh (دور دانہ) for a comet. I do not find the word in the well-known Persian dictionary "Burhân-i-kâtêh." I do neither find the word in the Persian-English dictionaries of Richardson and Steingass nor in the English-Persian Dictionary of Wollaston. The Tabakat-i-Akbari alone uses it for a "comet." I think that this is an attempt to render into Persian, "Gurcheher," the Pahlavi word for comet, which can also be read "durcheher." We will speak of the Pahlavi word at some length later on.

Badaoni's Muntakhab-ul-Tawârikh.

Badaoni's version of the comet of 1578 as given in his Muntakhab-ul-Tawârikh [3] runs thus :—

"Among the unexpected events (one) was this, that in the same year, a comet appeared from the direction of the West. When Shah Mançur left a long tail from behind in the corner of his turban, they named him (in joke) 'a tailed comet.' . . . . . The effects of this comet appeared in that country."

Badaoni, like Abul Fazl, places the event in the 22nd year of king Akbar's reign, while Nizam-ud-Din, as seen above, places it in the 23rd year. Elliot thus explains the discrepancy :—

"The twenty-second year began on the 20th Zi-l-hijja, 984, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole of Hijra, 985, and end-

[1] Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 407.

[2] Tabakat-i-Akbari. Munshi Naval Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A.D. (1292 Hijri) p. 339 ll. 3-4.

[3] Lees and Ahmad Alis text, Vol. II, p. 240, l. 16,—p. 241, l. 5. I give my translation from this text. *Vide* Lowe's translation, Vol. II, p. 248. *Vide* also "L'Empereur Akbar" par le Comte F.A. De Noer, traduit de l'Allemand par G. Bonet Maury, Vol. I, p. 262.

ed on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period, and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abûl Fazl in the twenty-second."[1]

When identifying the comet of King Akbar's reign, later on, we will see that it appeared in 1577, the 22nd year of Akbar's reign.

Jehangir's Wâkiât-i-Jehangiri.

The version of the author of the Wâkiât-i-Jehangiri about the two comets, that appeared in 1618 in King Jehangir's reign, runs thus (Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 363) :—

Saturday, 17th Zi-l-ka'da.[2] Several nights before this, a little before dawn, a luminous vapour, in the form of a column, had made its appearance, and every succeeding night it arose half an hour earlier than on the preceding night. When it had attained its full development, it looked like a spear with the two ends thin, but thick about the middle. It was a little curved like a reaping-sickle, with its back towards the south, and its edge towards the north. On the above-mentioned date, it rose three hours before sunrise. The astronomers measured its size with their astrolabes and, on an average of different observations, it was found to extend 24 degrees. Its course was in the empyrean heaven, but it had a proper motion of its own, independent of that firmament, as it was retrograde—first appearing in the sign of the Scorpion, and then in that of the Scales. Its declination was southerly. Astrologers call such a phenomenon a spear, and have written that it portends evil to the chiefs of Arabia, and the establishment of an enemy's power over them. God only knows if this be true !

" Sixteen nights after its first appearance, a comet appeared in the same quarter, having a shining nucleus, with a tail in appearance about two or three yards long, but in the tail there was no light or splendour. Up to the present time, nearly eight years have elapsed since its first appearance, and when it disappears, I shall take care to record it, as well as the effects which have resulted from it."

From the above extract, perhaps one may be led to suppose that the comet continued to appear for eight years. We will explain this matter, later on, while identifying this comet.

[1] Elliot's History of India. Vol. V, p. 403, n. 1.

[2] The year was Hijri 1027, A. D. 1618. *Vide* Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 356.

Mutamadkhan's Ikbal Nâmeh-i-Jehangiri.

Version of Mutamadkhan, in his Ikbâl Nâmeh-i-Jehangiri, of the first of the comets of 1618 (Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, pp. 406-7).

"On the 16th of De, an hour and a quarter before the dawn of the day, there appeared in the atmosphere a vaporous matter in the shape of a column, and it was seen half an hour earlier every succeeding night. When it appeared in its full form, it resembled the shape of a javelin. It was thin at both ends, and thick and crooked in the middle like a sickle. Its back was towards the south, and its face towards the north. The astronomers measured its size by means of an astrolabe, and upon a comparison of different observations, it was found to extend over 24 degrees. It moved with the highest of the heavens, but had a proper motion of its own; so that it first appeared in the sign of Scorpio, and in a short time left it, and entered that of Libra. It also had a southerly declination. Astrologers in their books mention such a phenomenon under the name of a javelin. Sixteen nights after its appearance a star was seen in the same direction, the head of which was luminous; but its tail, which was two or three yards long, emitted no light. It was in consequence of its appearance that a pestilential disorder (*wabâ-o-tâ' aûn*) spread throughout this extensive country of Hindûstân, which exceeded everything known and recorded in former ages, nor is there any mention made of such in the authentic works of the Hindûs. The pestilence arose in the country one year before the appearance of the phenomenon, and continued to rage for eight years. It was also through the effects of this phenomenon that a misunderstanding arose between His Majesty and the fortunate prince Shâh Jahân. The disturbances which thus originated lasted seven or eight years. What blood was shed in the country! and what families were ruined!

"At this time it was learnt from the petition of Bahâdur Khân, Governor of Kandahâr, that in the environs and dependencies of the city, the mice had increased to such an extent that they left no trace of either crops or fruits. With the greatest difficulty, perhaps, only one-fourth of the produce was saved to the cultivators. In the same manner, the fields of melons and the produce of orchards and vineyards were totally destroyed; and when no fruit and no corn remained in the gardens and in the fields, by degrees the mice all died off."

II.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE COMETS.

We will now proceed to identify the comets described by the above-named Mahomedan authors. Mr. J. Russel Hind's book on comets

has been of great use to me in identifying them. The comets referred to by Nizam-ud-Din's Tabakat-i-Akbari and by Badaoni's Muntakh-ab-ul-Tawârikh are the same as that which is the fourth in the list of Abul Fazl ; so they do not require a separate identification. We will proceed in our work of identification in the chronological order of their appearance. The oldest comet referred to is the one mentioned by Maçoudi.

Maçoudi's Comet of 912 *A.D.*

1. The comet of Hijri 299 (911-12 A.D.) referred to by Maçoudi is Halley's Comet in one of its previous revolutions. Mr. Russel Hind, in his book on comets,[1] gives a table of the most probable epochs of the perihelion passages of Halley's Comet, commencing from 11 B.C. Therein we find its 13th appearance in 912 A.D. This date corresponds to Maçoudi's Hijri date 299. In this table, the author marks with an asterisk, the most certain appearances of Halley's Comet before the year 1456. This particular appearance is not so marked, because, probably, he had not before him any historical reference to it. But a new compiler can, I think, take this as a certain appearance on the authority of a well-known Arab author like Maçoudi. In another place, Hind refers to it as a comet observed at Constantinople.[2]

According to Mr. Chambers,[3] there appeared two comets in 912 A.D. One of these was Halley's. The one referred to by Maçoudi must be Halley's, as it is referred to as a remarkable one, having been accompanied with other phenomena.

The Comet referred to in the Nigâristân.

2. Elliot[4] surmised that the comet of Hijri 330 (941-42 A.D.), referred to in the Nigâristân, was Halley's Comet, one of whose probable appearances has been reckoned to be in 930 A.D. He surmised that, as there is always a difference of a few months between each period of its appearance, due to the action of planets and to other causes, this difference of nearly 11 years may be accounted. But Russel Hind has, in his book[1] on Comets, given a list of the epochs of its perihelion passages on former occasions from the date of its last appearance 1835 A.D. to 11 B.C. We do not find in that list its appearance in 941-42 or thereabouts. Again, we do not find any comet mentioned in this year either in the list of Russel Hind or

[1] The "Comets" by J. Russel Hind (1852) p. 57.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 15.

[3] The Story of the Comets, p. 120.

[4] Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, p. 506, n. 1.

in that of Ferguson.[1] So, for the present, we must take it as an unidentified comet.

Abul Fazl's Comets—First Comet.

3. (*a*) The first comet referred to by Abul Fazl is that of the year 1263-64 (Hijri 662). This comet is Comet III of Ferguson's[2] list. It passed its perihelion on 6th July 1264 at H. 7-50′-39″, according to the mean time of Greenwich.[3] Mr. Hind says of it that it was a great comet and that it "was accompanied by a train fully 100° long, agreeably to the Chinese description, while European contemporaries tell us, when the head was just clear of the eastern horizon, the tail stretched passed the mid-heaven westward, which seems to indicate an extent of more than 90°."[4]

Further on, Mr. Hind speaks thus of this great comet.—"One of the grandest comets mentioned in history is that which made its appearance in the middle of the year 1264. It is recorded in terms of wonder and astonishment by nearly all the historians of the age: no one then living had seen any to be compared to it. It was at the height of its splendour in the month of August, and during the early part of September. When the head was just visible above the eastern horizon in the early morning sky, the tail stretched out past the mid-heaven towards the West, or was fully 100° in length. Both Chinese and European writers testify to its enormous magnitude. In China, the tail was not only 100° long, but appeared curved in the form of a sabre. Its movement was from Leo, through Cancer and Gemini into Orion. It continued visible until the beginning of October, historians generally agreeing in dating its last appearance on the 2nd of October, or on the night of the death of Pope Urban IV, of which event it seems to have been considered the precursor. * * * * * * Some rough approximations to the elements have been attempted in the first instance by Mr. Dunthorne, in the middle of the last century, and subsequently by M. Pingre, the well-known French writer upon the history of comets."[5]

c

According to Russel Hind, the comet of 1556, which, according to Furguson's list, passed its perihelion on 21st April, was the same comet appearing after a period of 292 years. Then, it was "not

[1] Ferguson's Astronomy, explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's principles, by David Brewster 1811, Vol. II., pp. 360-67.

[2] Ibid p. 360.

[3] The "Comets" by J. Russel Hind (1852), p. 127. Hind gives the hour as H. 7-51′.

[4] Ibid, p. 12.

[5] Ibid, pp. 116-17.

nearly so conspicuous as in 1264", but still was " a great and brilliant star."[1] It seems to have gradually lost its brilliancy. Hind[2] predicted its return between 1856-1860. Two comets[3] have appeared within the period, in 1859 and 1860, but none has been clearly identified with it.

Abul Fazl also refers to the comet's passing from the sign of Leo and says that it was seen in Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kashgar, Fargana, Ma'wara'u'n-nahr (Transoxania) and Khorasan, and that it continued to appear for 80 days. From this, we see that it was a great comet and was seen even in China in the further east. All these facts and the year identify Abul Fazl's Comet of 662 Hijri as the great comet of 1264.

(*b*) We are not able to identify the second comet of Abul Fazl (Hijri 803, A.D. 1400-1) with any of the comets in the lists given in books of modern astronomy. According to Wollaston,[4] the Hijri year 803 lasted from 22nd August 1400 to 10th August 1401. A remarkable comet appears in Grant's list, as given by Mr. Chambers,[5] as one seen in 1402. So, perhaps it may be that comet.

(*c*) Coming to Abul Fazl's third comet (Hijri 837, A.D. 1433-34), I think it is the same as that of 1433 referred to by Russel Hind[6] in his list of comets. It passed its perihelion on the 4th or 5th of November 1433. It was also observed by the Chinese.[7]

(*d*) The fourth comet referred to by Abul Fazl (Hijri 985, A.D. 1576-77) is the comet IX of Furguson's[8] list which passed its perihelion on 26th October 1577. Russel Hind also gives this comet in his list.[9] It was of this comet that Tycho Brahe found " that it had no diurnal parallax, and that it was, therefore, situated at a much greater distance than the Moon." [10] This comet has been identified by Elliot.[11] On the day of discovery it exhibited a curved tail 22° in length. The Chinese described it as of a bluish colour with a white vapour, and about 10° long.[12]

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[1] Ibid, p. 117.
[2] Ibid, p. 122.
[3] Newcomb's Astronomy for Everybody, 1903, p. 274.
[4] Wollaston's English-Persian Dictionary, p. 1488.
[5] The Story of the Comets by Chambers, p. 126.
[6] " The Comets " by Russel Hind, p. 127.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 141.
[8] Ferguson's Astronomy by Brewster, p. 360.
[9] " The Comets" by Russel Hind, p. 128.
[10] Ferguson's Astronomy by Brewster, Vol. II, p. 355.
[11] Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 407.
[12] " The Comets" by Russel Hind, p. 100.

" The elements of this comet were first calculated by Halley."[1] As said above, Tycho Brahe's name is greatly connected with this comet. Mr. E. V. Heward, in his article[2] on Comets, thus refers to Tycho Brahe's work in connection with this comet which alarmed and surprised King Akbar's court in India.

" To Tycho Brahe belongs the credit of being the first in Europe to open the way leading to the more accurate knowledge we have to-day of the comets in relation to their position in space, and on the sure ground of actual measurement with instruments he himself had made. This he was enabled to do through the munificience of Frederick II of Denmark, who, in order to secure for his country the services of so profound a reader of the stars, built for him a palatial home and observatory on the Island of Huen, at the entrance of the Baltic. Overjoyed with the grandeur of the edifice, Tycho called it Uraniberg—city of the heavens. Here for a period of twenty years he occupied himself in measuring and mapping out the position of the stars and planets, and in poring over their significance in relation to mundane affairs. While thus employed, on November 13th, 1577, a comet came into view. It was twilight, and the after-glow, seemed to tinge the visitor with a rosy hue ; but as the shades of evening closed in, its colour merged in bluish white. It was a beautiful object, with a train of silvery lustre sweeping over the heavens and dividing towards the end into two gracefully curved steams." [3]

Abul Fazl saw this comet in India on the day Arad, the 25th of the Ilahi month Âban. Tycho Brahe saw it on 13th November 1577. The Ilahi Calendar of Akbar was, as we know, the Parsi Calendar. I give below a table of the Ilahi and Christian months to enable us to determine the relation of the above days.

The Ilahi or Parsee month.	Its corresponding Christian Date.
Fravardin (commences)	... 21st March
Ardibehesht	... 20th April
Khordad	... 20th May
Tir	... 19th June
Amardad	... 19th July
Sheherivar	... 18th August
Meher	... 17th September
Aban	... 17th October.
The day Arad (Arshisang) *i.e.*, the 25th day of the Aban month fell on ...	... 10th November

[1] " The Comets " by Russel Hind, p. 149.

[2] " What are Comets and Meteors " in the *Fortnightly Review* of November 1909.

[3] Ibid, pp. 916-17.

This table, then, shows that while Abul Fazl saw the comet in India on the 10th of November 1577, Tycho Brahe saw it in the Baltic on the 13th of November 1577, about three days later. So the time is well nigh the same. Abul Fazl says that it had a " brilliant face." Tycho Brahe found it to be " a beautiful object." Both saw it in the western horizon.

In my paper on " The Parsees at The Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," read before this Society on 19th December 1901,[1] I had examined at some length the question of the so-called miracle at the Court of Akbar connected with the name of Dastur Meherji Rana, and had said : " As Dr. West said, there may be some ' probable fact,' at the bottom, round which the story is interwoven. It may be a conjurer's trick, or it may be a meteorological phenomenon or it may be the astronomical phenomenon of a comet, which is actually noted by three historians of Akbar's time, *viz.*, Badaoni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din, and the occurrence of which has been confirmed by European astronomers. I am disposed to believe, that it was possibly the third fact, *viz.*, the phenomenon of the comet, that led to the tradition of the so-called miracle. It was believed, as Abul Fazl says, that evils resulted from the appearance of the phenomenon. They further believed that the writings of the ancients (*pishinigân*) had some *nirangs* (prayers) which averted these evils. So they may have turned to Dastur Meherji Rana for some of these *nirangs*."[2]

My present study of the subject of the comets has led me to strengthen my above belief still further. It is no wonder, if the great comet of 1577 surprised and alarmed the Court of Akbar and the country of India, when one reads, that even in Europe, the appearances of comets frightened not only the ordinary public but learned divines and poets, kings and nobles. We know of Pope Calixtus III that, at the time of the comet of 1456, during the period of the last Crusade, when Christendom fought against Mahomed III, he was so much frightened by the appearance of the comet, that he issued a Bull " exorcising the evil thing " and asked prayers to be said. The mid-day bell known as Angelus de Midi is connected by some with this prayer and with this event.

Mr. Heward says of this comet that " the eyes of Europe were fixed upon the apparition and many and crude were the conjectures hazarded to account for its presence."[3] If that was the case in

[1] Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXI, No. LVIII.

[2] *Vide* my book on " The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 79.

[3] "What are Comets and Meteors"—*The Fortnightly Review* of November 1909, p. 917.

learned Europe, no wonder that similar should be the case in the comparatively backward country of India.

Coming back to Tycho Brahe's work in connection with this comet, we further read that "with honest pride he announced his discovery, saying that he had demolished the artificial fabric of the ancients—the solid crystal spheres. The free spaces of heaven he filled with air and gave countenance to the Pythagorean belief that the revolving worlds produced harmonious tunes by their action on the surrounding ether."[1]

The Comets referred to in the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri and in the Ikbâl Nâmeh-i-Jehângiri.

The Wâkiat-i-Jehângiri and the Ikbâl Nameh-i-Jehângiri refer to two comets that appeared in Jehangir's reign. Both appeared in the same year (Hijri 1027, A.D. 1617-18) with a short interval between them. We also find both from Ferguson [2] and Russel Hind [3], that two comets had appeared in 1618. The first had passed its perihelion on 17th August 1618 and the second on 8th November 1618.

(*a*) Let us identify these comets. According to the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri,[4] the first of the two comets appeared on the 17th Zi-l Ka'da of the Hijri year 1027 (A. D. 1618). This Mahomedan date, *viz.*, 17th Zi-l Ka'da, *i.e.*, the 17th of the 11th month of the Mahomedan year, corresponds to some day in November 1618. This identification of the Mahomedan and Christian dates helps us in the matter of identifying this comet with a comet observed by European scientific writers. According to the latter, one of the comets of 1618 "passed through perihelion on 8th November 1618." [5] The Mahomedan Historian says that the comet appeared several nights before the 17th of the 11th month of 1027 Hijri (November 1618). A slight difference in dates presents no difficulty in our work of identification. Wollaston in his English-Persian Dictionary gives, at the end of his work, an excellent table of Mahomedan years, and their corresponding Christian years. We find from that table that the Mahomedan or Hijri year 1027 commenced on 29th December 1617, *i.e.*, only two days before the commencement of the Christian year 1618. Now the Mahomedan

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Ferguson's Astronomy by Brewster, Vol. II, p. 360.

[3] The Comets, by Russel Hind, p. 128

[4] Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 356.

[5] E. V. Heward in the *Fortnightly Review* of November 1909. Ferguson's Astronomy by Brewster, (1811), Vol. II, p. 360. J. Russel Hind's "Comets" (1852) p. 128.

month Zi-l Ka'da, given by the author of the Wâkiat-i-Jehângiri, is, as we know, the 11th month of the Mahomedan year. So, calculating from the 29th of December 1617, on which day the Mahomedan year 1027 began, the 11th month does not correspond with March 1618. It does correspond with November 1618, the month given by European scientific writers as the month during which the comet of 1618 appeared in its perihelion.

Thus, we see that, the first comet, referred to by the Wâkiat-i-Jehângiri as appearing on the 17th day of the eleventh month of Hijri 1027, is the comet of November 1618. It was believed to have brought on, the great "Thirty years' War." Milton was of the age of 10 when it appeared, and it is said[1] that, it was the impression made upon his boyish mind of 10 by this comet that made him say at the age of 50 in his "Paradise Lost" the following lines :—

. . . "On the other side,
Incensed with indignation, Satan stood
Unterrified, and like a comet burn'd,
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge,
In the arctic sky, and from his horrid hair,
Shakes pestilence and war" (Paradise Lost, B. II, ll. 708, et seq.).

Mr. Heward thus speaks of it—

"It was first caught sight of in November of that year, and was attentively observed by Keplar at Lintz, Father Scheiner at Ingolstadt, Marsilius in Bohemia, and also by the Jesuits at Goa. It passed through perihelion on November 8, and while thus saluting the sun it put forth a train which extended far past the mid-heavens to a distance of 104°. The magnificent appendage was greatly admired, for it sparkled with silvery lustre through its entire strength. And the head or body of the comet shone so brightly that Marsilius saw it in full daylight, and, more wonderful still, he says, that it cast a distinct shadow, as the Moon does. On the 25th, the tail crossed the Earth's path, and was estimated to be fifty millions of miles long. Father Cysatus saw in the body of the comet a bright, round nucleus, shining most vividly, through an immense shroud; at the same time the flickering tail seemed as if agitated by the wind, and from the head there shot forth luminous rays which instantly returned *cum vibratione enormi.* Then, to the astonishment of all, there followed a marvellous transformation. Before the eyes of the wondering spectators the comet opened out and separated into several parts, each part shining with a diamond-like sparkle. By December 20th, the whole body of the

[1] The Story of the Comets by Chambers, p. 211.

comet had resolved itself into a cluster of small bright stars, each one putting forth a tail of its own. Thus rapidly developed, and adorned with the attributes of beard and tail, they journeyed on together, a fine social group of comets. Before taking final leave of these parts they enacted a brilliant coup. Mingling their tails together, they sent forth an immense train, bright and sparkling, which measured about sixty millions of miles. Then, as if satisfied with the performance, the troop of celestial vagrants vanished from terrestrial gaze.

Arago, commenting upon the physical aspect of the spectacle, says : "The separation of the comet of 1618 into several fragments took place under the direct observation of Cysatus, Wendelin, and Scheiner."[1]

Hind speaks of this comet as " a splendid comet" and as " one of finest ever observed."[2]

From the description of the comet as given by the above two Mahomedan authors, we find, that they refer to the same comet. But the date 16th of Dè given by the *Ikbâl Nameh-i-Jehângiri* (17th Zi-l Ka'da) does not seem to tally. I think that, perhaps the author of the *Ikbâl Nameh* has mistaken the Mahomedan month Zi-l Ka'da for Ilahi Dè.

(*b*) Coming to the second comet of the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri, we find that, it says that it appeared in the same year (Hijri 1027, A.D. 1618), sixteen days after the first comet. Both Hind and Ferguson speak, as said above, of a second comet in that year. But they say that it passed its perihelion on 17th August 1618, *i.e.*, about 3 months before the above-named comet of November 1618, while the Mahomedan author says that it followed sixteen days after.

In connection with this matter of difference between the Mahomedan writer and the later Christian writer, it is worth noting that, according to Hind, the observations of Kepler on the first of the two comets were " somewhat imperfect." [3]

From the description of the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri, one may be led to think, that the comet continued to appear for eight years. But as the Ikbâl Nâmeh's description of the same comet, which, to a certain extent, follows that of the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri, points out, the reference is to the supposed disastrous and unlucky influences of the comet. These were believed to have lasted for a long period of nearly eight years.

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[1] " What are Comets and Meteors ?"—*Fortnightly Review* of November 1909, pp. 919-20.

[2] " The Comets" by Russel Hind, p. 144.

[3] Ibid, p . 144.

Comets of 1705, 1003 and 1006.

I will supplement this account of the comets observed in India by Mahomedan historians with the following further account :—

(1) An account of the comet observed in India in 1705 A.D. as given by an European writer.

(2) An account of two comets observed between Hijri 1003 and 1006.

We find the following account of a comet observed in India in 1705. It is not from the pen of an Indian historian but from that of an European writer in the time of the later Mogal Emperors. The author is Mannuci. The account is taken from his " Storia do Mogor," Vol. IV, p. 247. The writer says :—

" At the same time (in 1705-6) there appeared a comet which was visible for fifteen days. The Brahmans and astrologers found herein an occasion for talk, and they declared that these signs were demonstrations of Aurangzeb's (approaching) death and of devastation in many places in the Empire together with the loss of the post of Swat."

Mannuci does not give the exact date of the appearance of the comet in India. But, after describing some events of the year 1705, he speaks of this event as happening "at the same time." So, I think, it is the comet, which, according to Hind[1] and Ferguson, passed its perihelion on 30th January 1706. " It was observed at Paris by Cassini and Maraldi."[2] As the 30th of January 1706 is the day of its perihelion or the nearest point to the sun, it is possible that it was seen in India some time before that day, probably at the end of 1705.

We find an account of two comets observed in Hijri 394 (A.D. 1003-4) and Hijri 396 (A. D. 1005-6) by Mahomedan writers. We have not the original Mahomedan writing before us, but we are indebted for this account to Dr. J. A. Condé, who has referred to them in his History of the Dominions of the Arabs in Spain. He thus speaks of the Comets—

" In this year of 394[3] (Hijri) there appeared in the heavens a comet, or blazing star, of great magnitude and astonishing splendour.

" In the year 396[4] there was witnessed a second phenomenon of similar kind ; a bright star, namely, which was seen in the heavens and was one of those which are accompanied by great thunders while

[1] Russel Hind's Comets, p. 127 : Ferguson's Astronomy by Brewster, p. 361.
[2] Hind's Comets, p. 146.
[3] A.D. October 1003-24.
[4] 1005-6.

they run their course : this being one of the twelve notable ones mentioned by the most ancient observers. The learned watched the course of that star with much attention, and many were of opinion that none of this species ever appears unless when God the Highest, in His special providence, hath determined to bring about great changes in the world."[1]

These two comets are not referred to in the lists of Ferguson and Hind. Mr. Chambers[2] refers to a comet, of 1005, as one falsely identified by a writer in the Edinburgh Review of April 1835 as Halley's. I think, the second of the two comets referred to above, by Dr. Condé, on the authority of Arab writers, as appearing in 396 Hijri, is this comet of 1005 A.D.

List of the Comets.

We will here give a list of the comets, referred to in this paper, which will present to the reader, at one sight, the dates of their appearances and an idea of their identification. In giving the Christian dates of the Hijri years of the Mahomedan authors, I have followed the following rule :—

"From the given number of Mahomedan years, deduct 3 per cent. and to the remainder add 621·54." The corresponding rule for *vice versa* is—"From the given number of Christian years, deduct 621·54 and to the remainder add 3 per cent. of the same." Wollaston gives, at the end of his English-Persian Dictionary, a list of the Mahomedan years and their corresponding Christian years.

A List of the Comets referred to by the Mahomedan Authors named to in this paper.

	The Book referring to the comet.	Hijri year.	Christian year.	My identification of the comet.
1.	Maçoudi's Maruj-ul-Zahb	299	911-12	Halley's Comet in 912 A.D.
2.	Ahmad *bin* Mahmad's Nigaristan.	330	941-42	Unidentified.
	Arab writers according to Dr. Condé.	394	1003-04	Do.
		396	1005-06	It may be the comet referred to by Chambers as appearing in 1005.
3.	Abul Fazl's Akbar Nameh.	662	1263-64	The comet which passed its perihelion on 6th July 1264.

[1] History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Translated from the Spanish of Dr. J. A. Condé by Mrs. Jonathan Foster (1854), Vol. II, p. 49.

[2] The Story of the Comets, p. 124.

A List of the Comets—continued.

	The Book referring to the comet.	Hijri year.	Christian year.	My identification of the comet.
4.	Abul Fazl's Akbar Nameh.	803	1400-01	Unidentified. Perhaps it may be the remarkable comet of 1402.
5.	Ditto ...	837	1433-34	The comet, which, according to Russel Hind, passed its perihelion on 4th or 5th November 1433.
6.	(*a*) Abul Fazl's Akbar Nameh.	985	1577-78	The comet that passed its perihelion on 26th October 1577.
	(*b*) Nizam-ud-din's Tabakat-i-Akbari.	...	.....	
	(*c*) Badaoni's Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh.	...	.....	
7.	(*a*) The Wakiât-i-Jehângiri and (*b*) Ikbâl Nâmeh.	1027	1618	The comet that passed its perihelion on 17th August 1618.
8.	The Wakiât-i-Jehângiri.	1027	1618	The comet that passed its perihelion on 8th November 1618.
	Storia do Mogor ...	...	1705-6	The comet that passed its perihelion on 20th January 1706.

III.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE VIEWS OF THE MAHOMEDAN WRITERS ON COMETS.

We will now examine the statements of these Mahomedan authors at some length. All of them, with the exception of Abul Fazl, have mostly described the appearances of the comets, which fell under their own observations or whose observations were noticed by some previous writers whose descriptions they followed. It is Abul Fazl alone, who, not only describes the appearances of the comets, but enters into a kind of dissertation about the theory of their formation, &c. So, we will examine his statement, and, where necessary, see, how far he is supported by other Mahomedan authors, by other ancient writers and by modern scientific writers.

ABUL FAZL'S THEORY EXPLAINING THE PHENOMENON OF THE APPEARANCE OF A COMET.

Abul Fazl connects the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet with the formation of what he calls *bokhâr*, *i.e.*, vapour and *dakhan*, *i.e.*, steam. To speak of it in the modern scientific phraseology, he

connects it with the phenomenon of evaporation. He says, that its appearance is due to the vapour floating in the air, as the result of the process of evaporation. But, though the vapour is thus always in the air, the appearance of the comet is rare. So, to explain that, he says that its appearance in the heavens is due to a particular position of the planets, Mars and Mercury in the heavens.

A comparison with the modern view.

As to the theory about the presence of vapours in the comet, we find that modern scientists also refer to them, and say that the luminosity is due to them. Sir George Gabriel Stokes[1] says on this point :—

" There can no longer be any doubt that the nucleus consists, in its inner portions at least, of vapour of some kind, and we must now add incandescent vapour ; nor does there appear to be any reasonable doubt that in most comets this vapour consists of or contains some volatile compound of carbon, unless it be carbon itself vaporized by the heat of the sun. . . . . Now it is conceivable, that if the nucleus of a comet be endowed with an atmosphere, or perhaps even coated with a liquid, having in a high degree the combination of the transparent and athermanous characters of glass, its temperature when exposed to radiation from the sun might rise much above what we might have expected *a priori.*"

Though Abul Fazl's reference to vapours in the comet is correct, even from the modern scientific point of view, his inference that the vapour is the vapour rising from our earth is wrong. He takes it to be an ordinary meteorological phenomenon which is not correct, as the comet appears in the ultra-terrestrial regions. Abul Fazl refers to terrestrial evaporation, while according to the modern view, it is the evaporation of a volatile liquid in the ultra-terrestrial region. The Ikbâl-nâmeh-i-Jehangiri[2] also connects the phenomenon with a vapourous matter in the atmosphere. The Wakiât-i-Jehangiri also speaks of "a luminous vapour."[3]

It is one of the features which a comet generally assumes, that seems to have led Abul Fazl and others to understand that it is a terrestrial meteorological phenomenon. As pointed out by Prof. Newcomb,[4] one of the three features which a comet embodies is that of the

[1] Nature Series. " Burnett Lectures on Light," by Sir George Gabriel Stokes (1892), pp. 210 -213.

[2] Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 406.

[3] Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 363.

[4] " Astronomy for Everybody. A Popular Exposition of the Wonders of the Heavens " by Prof. Simon Newcomb, with an introduction by Sir Robert S. Ball (1903), p. 255.

nucleus, which is surrounded by "a cloudy nebulous mass like a little bunch of fog, shading off very gradually towards the edge." The comet "looks like a star shining through a patch of mist or fog." So, it is this misty or foggy appearance that seems to have led Abul Fazl and others to conceive the appearance of a comet to be a terrestrial phenomenon occurring within the limits of the strata of the earth's atmosphere.

Thus Abul Fazl and some other Mahomedan authors partially reflect the views of the early ages of science referred to by Ferguson. He says :—"In the early ages of science, the comets were regarded as an assemblage of small stars that had accidently coalesced into one body, and afterwards they were believed to be simple meteors or exhalations generated by inflammable vapours in the earth's atmosphere."[1]

The view that the comets are atmospheric phenomena was held upto as late as Tycho Brahe's time. Astronomer Heath thus speaks on this point : "The ancient philosophers believed that comets existed in the earth's atmosphere. This idea was first exploded by Tycho Brahe, who showed by actual measurements that the comet of 1577 moved in space at a distance from the Earth farther away than the Moon, and therefore far beyond the confines of the earth's atmosphere.[2]

Abul Fazl's view about the forms assumed by the comets.

While explaining the origin of the appearance of the comet, Abul Fazl speaks of the various forms which the comets assume. He says that the comets assume the following forms :—

(*a*) A man with locks of hair.
(*b*) A person having a tail.
(*c*) A person holding a lance in his hand.
(*d*) An animal.

(*a*) The first form mentioned by Abul Fazl, *viz.*, that of a person with locks, is that which is also referred to by modern scientific writers on comets. They say that the nucleus or the central nebulous mass is surrounded by a hairy mass. The very word "comet" is derived from "coma," the Latin word for hair, because it looks hairy. This hairy portion is called "coma." The nucleus and the coma together form what is called "head." We find that the use of the word "head" for a part of the body of the comet which is hairy is

[1] Ferguson's Astronomy by Dr. Brewster (1811), Vol. II, pp. 354-55.
[2] The Twentieth Century Atlas of Popular Astronomy, by Thomas Heath (1903), p. 93.

ancient. The Bundehesh, a Pahlavi book of the Parsees speaks of the head and tail (*royashman va dumb*) of a comet.

One of the several Persian words for a comet is *zuzu'âbe*, *i.e.*, the possessor of locks of hair. A story is told of Professor Barnard showing a photograph of a comet to a lady. On looking to it, she is reported to have said : " Why ! that comet looks as if it had been out all night " [2] ! The remark can be more true from the point of view of the hairy portion of its head than from that of its tail.

(*b*) The second form of the comet referred to by Abul Fazl is that of a person with a tail. One of the several Persian words for a comet is "zuzanâb," *i.e.*, the possessor of a tail. Our general notion of a comet is that it is a tailed star, and that, as such, it always carries a tail. So Abul Fazl's distinction between the comets, as those with locks of hair or hairy comets, and tailed comets, appears strange at first thought. But we must remember that, at times, the comet is not seen in all its perfection. At times, the nucleus or the part which forms the hairy portion is not seen at all, and at other times, it is the tail that is not seen at all. Prof. Newcombe says on this point : " Comets differ enormously in brightness . . . . Sometimes a telescopic comet has no visible tail ; this however is the case only when the object is extremely faint. Sometimes, also, the nucleus is almost wholly wanting." [3] Again, we must remember that the observations in India in the time of Abul Fazl (1551-1602 A.D.) were made with naked eye and not with telescopes. The Wakiât-i-Jehangiri while speaking of a comet in the time of Jehangir, the successor of Akbar, in 1618, also says that in its tail " there was no light or splendour." [4]

According to Badaoni, the author of the Muntakhab-ul-Tawârikh, the tail of a comet, which had appeared in 985 Hijri (1577-78 A. D.) in the reign of King Akbar (1542-1605 A.D.), had suggested a joke in the case of a courtier. Shah Mançur, who occupied the post of Divân, used to keep the end of his turban hanging behind him over his head. The recent appearance of the comet at that time suggested the idea that the end of the turban hung over the back of his head like the tail of the comet. So, in joke, he was called Sitârah-i-dunbaleh (ستارهٔ دنبالہ) [5] *i.e.*, a tailed star or comet.

[1] Chap. XXVIII, 44. S. B. E., Vol. V. (1880), p. 113.

[2] " Modern Astronomy," by Turner (1901), p. 226.

[3] Newcombe's Astronomy for everybody, p. 256.

[4] Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 364.

[5] The Muntakhab-al-tawarikh edited by Dr. Lees and Munshi Ahmed Ali (1865), Vol. II., p. 240, l. 18. Lowe's Translation (1884), Vol. II, p. 248. Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 407, n. 3.

(*c*) The third form attributed by Abul Fazl to a comet, *viz.*, that of a person with a lance (nizeh) in his hand, is one which is not referred to by modern scientific writers on comets, but is referred to by Pliny.[1] Other Mahomedan authors, besides Abul Fazl, have attributed to comets forms of instruments. The Wakiât-i-Jehangiri, while speaking of a comet that appeared in the 13th year of the reign of Jehangir (Hijri 1027, A. D. 1618) says, that it appeared "like a spear with the two ends thin but thick about the middle."[2] The Ikbal-nameh-i-Jehangir also speaks of the form as that of a javelin.[3]

Some European writers also refer to the comet as assuming the forms of instruments. For example, Sigebert says of the comet that appeared in 1066, the year of the Norman conquest, that to its train "hung a fiery sword not unlike a dragon's tail."[4] In another place we read of a comet appearing like a Turkish scimitar."[5]

(*d*) The fourth form supposed to be assumed by the comets, according to Abul Fazl, is that of an animal. The Pahlavi Bundehesh also seems to refer to this form.

Pliny[6] refers to the following forms assumed by the comets :— Sword, dart, horn, deity in a human form, spear, spire, knot of fire, and flute.

IV.

THE INFLUENCE ATTRIBUTED BY THE PEOPLE TO A COMET'S APPEARANCE.

Mr. Vincent Heward, in his "Story of Halley's Comet,"[7] says of Halley's comet that "it is closely associated with events which have contributed largely towards moulding the destiny of Europe." One can say that that statement is true, to a greater or less extent, of many great comets. Abul Fazl's statement about the beliefs in a comet's influence is a reflection of the general beliefs on this subject.

Abul Fazl's version of the influence of the comets.

Abul Fazl, on the authority of ancient writers, whom he calls "writers of wisdom," says that as a result of the evil influences of a comet "a famine is in sight, sickness is prevalent and calamities gain strength." Further on, he refers to the dethronement of kings, &c. If by the "writers of wisdom" he means the *pishinigân* or "the

[1] Pliny's Natural History, Book II, Chapter XXII. Bostock and Riley's translation (1855), Vol. I, p. 56.

[2] Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 363.

[3] Ibid, p. 406.

[4] The Story of Halley's Comet. The Nineteenth Century of September 1909, p. 519.

[5] Ibid, p. 520.

[6] Pliny's Natural History, Book II, Chapters XXII and XXIII. Bostock and Riley's translation, Vol. I, pp. 55-58.

[7] The Nineteenth Century of September 1909, No. 391, p. 509.

ancients" referred to by him in another passage, we will see, later on, that the Pahlavi Bundehesh refers to all these calamities mentioned by Abul Fazl. We find from other Mahomedan authors also that the fear about the evil influences of the comets was well nigh general.

Its comparison with other similar views.

The following statement of Ferguson is a reflection of what, according to Abul Fazl, was the general belief of those and earlier times. Ferguson says :—"During the ages of barbarism and superstition, they were regarded as the harbingers of awful convulsions, both in the political, and in the physical world. Wars, pestilence and famine, the dethronement of kings, the fall of nations, and the more alarming convulsions of the globe, where the dreadful evils which they presented to the diseased and terrified imaginations of men . . . . Even at the beginning of the 18th century, the friend and companion of Newton, Mr. Whiston, regarded them as the abode of the damned."[1]

There are a number of theories about the origin and cause of the Deluge. One of these is, that it must be due to a comet which may have come into collision with the earth. Ferguson and also Dr. Whiston, an astronomer and a contemporary and friend of Newton, held this view. Ferguson says as follows on this point :—"We must confess that if a natural cause is to be sought for that great events, we can explain it only by the shock of some celestial body. The transient effect of a comet passing near the earth, could scarcely amount to any great convulsions ; but if the earth were actually to receive a shock from one of these bodies, the consequences would be awful. A new direction would be given to its rotatory motion, and the globe would revolve round a new axis. The seas, forsaking their ancient beds, would be hurried by their centrifugal force to the new equatorial regions ; islands and continents, the abodes of men and animals, would be covered by the universal rush of waters to the new equator, and every prestige of human industry and genius at once destroyed. The chances against such an event, however, are so very numerous, that there is no dread of its occurrence."[2]

Halley is reported to have said of the comet that bears his name that "if so large a body with so rapid a motion were to strike the earth —a thing by no means impossible—the shock might reduce this beautiful world to its original chaos."[3]

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[1] Ferguson's Astronomy by Dr. Brewster (1811), Vol. II, p. 352.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 353.

[3] The Nineteenth Century of September 1909, p. 513.

It seems, that the very mention, by those, whom Abul Fazl calls "writers of wisdom," of the chances, however remote, of a catastrophe has led many men, even of the intelligent class, to be afraid of the phenomenon. It has led them to prayers and ceremonies to avert such misfortunes. They attributed their escape to their devout prayers. Though they believed that the general disaster was averted, they attributed partial disasters, like that of an invasion or of a dethronement, a famine or a pestilence, to that phenomenon. It was not only in India and Persia that such a fear was general. We find that it was common in many nations, both ancient and modern. Abul Fazl in his account of the comets refers to ancient Greece, Egypt and Rome. All these countries had superstitious fears of these comets. Among the Greeks, Artistotle, among the Romans, Ammianus Marcellinus and Pliny, and among the Egyptians, Ptolemy refer to this.

Ammianus Marcellinus is reported to have said that "comets foretold the ruin of great conditions,"[1] Pliny devotes two chapters (Bk. II, chaps. 22 and 23) to comets.[2] He divides them into several classes according to their form and appearance. In his long description of their form and appearance we find the following traits referred to by Abul Fazl:—

(1) "Shaggy with bloody locks and surrounded with bristles like hair." Some "have a mane hanging down from their lower parts like a long beard."

(2) "They shine like a sword." "One had the appearance of a spear."

(3) "It portends something unfavourable".[3] These unfavourable prognostications depend upon the different forms and appearances that it assumes.

According to Ptolemy, referred to by Abul Fazl, "comets presented an omen especially unfavourable to kings."[4] Milton is believed to refer to this opinion when he says of a comet in his Paradise Lost, "And with fear of change perplexes monarchs." Milton also refers to the belief referred to by Abul Fazl that pestilence and wars result from the appearance of a comet.[5]

Pliny refers to a comet that appeared in the time of Cæsar (44 A.D.). Halley has identified this comet with that of 1680 A.D. whose

[1] Encyclopædia of Antiquities by Rev. Fosbroke (1825), Vol. II, p. 675.
[2] "The Natural History of Pliny," translated by Bostock and Riley (1855), Vol. I, pp. 55-58.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 57.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 57, n. 4.
[5] *Vide* above p. 85. Paradise Lost, Bk. II, 11, 708 *et seq*.

appearance is said to have led both Newton and Halley to believe that "the comets were perhaps controlled in their movements by the same influence as that which * * * * held the moon in its orbit." [1] It was the study of the observations of this comet in 1680 that led Halley to observe and study more carefully the comet which appeared in 1882, whose next appearance is foretold and which is known by his name.

Gibbon[2], on the authority of Halley and others, gives an account of the different appearances of the comet of 44 A. C. referred to by Pliny. It has the period of 575 years. While speaking of its appearance in the time of Justinian, Gibbon says that "the nations, who gazed with astonishment, expected wars and calamities from the baneful influence, and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled." [3] Gibbon enumerates its following appearances :—

1. Its appearance in 1767 B.C. is connected with the tradition which Varro has preserved that under the reign of Oxyges, the father of Grecian Antiquity "the planet Venus changed her colour, size, figure and course." [4]

2. Its second appearance in 1193 B.C. "is darkly implied in the fable of Electra, the seventh of the Pleiades, who have been reduced to six, since the time of the Trojan war. That nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the ruin of her country; she abandoned the dances of her sister orbs, fled from the Zodiac to the North Pole, and obtained from her dishevelled locks the name of the *comet.*" [5] From this description, we find that the comet is classed as a nymph, just as it is styled as a *pari* (fairy) in the Avesta and Pahlavi writings, as will be seen later on.

3. The third appearance was in 618 B.C., "a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sybill, and perhaps of Pliny." [6]

4. The fourth appearance was in 44 B.C. when it appeared as a long-haired star in Rome. It was believed to have "conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the dictator (Cæsar)." [7]

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[1] "The Story of Halley's Comet" by E. V. Heward in the Nineteenth Century, No. 391, September 1909, p. 509.

[2] The Decline and Fall of Roman Empire (1844), Vol. III, p. 160.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 160-161.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 161.

[7] *Ibid.*

5. The fifth appearance was, as said above, in 531 A.D., in the reign of Justinian.
6. The sixth appearance was in 1106 A.D. Even the Chinese have a record of this appearance. This was the time of the Crusades, and both the Crusaders and the Saracens took omens from its appearance.
7. The last appearance was in 1680 A.D.

V.

THE VIEWS OF THE PISHINIGAN, I.E., THE ANCIENT PERSIANS, AND THEIR NIRANGS REFERRED TO BY ABUL FAZL.

Abul Fazl, in his long account of the comets, refers to the *Pishinigân* or the ancients and says that they had many *nirangs* to counteract evil influences like those resulting from the appearances of comets. Let us examine here, in a separate section, the following points on this subject :—

A.—Who were the *pishinigân* ?

B.—What were their *nirangs* ?

C.—What had the *pishinigân* to say about the comets ?

A.—Who were the pishinigân ?

The *pishinigân* or the ancients, referred to by Abul Fazl, were the ancient Persians who professed the Mazdayaçnân faith. In the Pahlavi Dinkard [1], the *pishinigân* are identified with the *poriyo-tkaêshan.* This word is used in the Persian translation from the Pahlavi of the letter of Tosar or Tansar, the Chief Priest and Prime Minister of the Court of Ardeshir Babagân, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, to Jasnasfshah, the king of Tabaristan.

Tansar has used this word, [2] as well as the word *avalyân* [3] اولیان in the sense, as Darmesteter [4] has said, of *porio-tkaêshân*, who were the ancient Mazdayaçnâns of Persia of the time of Zoroaster.

B.—What were the *nirangs* of the *pishinigân* ?

The word *nirang* used by Abul Fazl is originally a Pahlavi word. Darmesteter says that " Nirang est le terme pehlvi pour les actes

[1] The Dinkard by Dastur Dr. Peshotan Behramji Sanjana, Vol. IX, Pahlavi text, p. 451, l. 20. *Vide* the Zand Pahlavi Glossary by Dastur Hoshang and Dr. Haug, Introduction, p. xxxv, l. 2.

Poriyo-tkeshân-i-pishinigân. *Vide* also the text of the Sad-dar-i Behere-i-tavil, Chapter XIII, wherein King Jamshed is spoken of as one of the *pishinigân.*

[2] Journal Asiatique. Neuviéme Série. Tome-III, Mars-Avril, 1894, p. 212, l. 3.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 211, l. 12.

[4] *Ibid*. Mai-Juin 1894, pp. 514-15.

liturgiques et par suite pour les indications liturgiques.[1]" The word signifies more than this. It has the following different significations—

(1) Ritual.
(2) A prayer formula used on particular occasions and in particular ceremonies.
(3) A prayer formula used as a charm or amulet for averting an evil.

As an example of the use of the word in the first sense, the Parsees have a ritual or ceremony called Nirangdin or nirang-i-din (lit. the ritual of religion). It is a long ceremony for the consecration of the *Gaô-mez* or the urine of a sacred bull. From the name of the ceremony, urine itself is at times called *nirang*. Again, there is a Pahlavi book which is called Nirangistân, because it refers to rituals.

Origin and meaning of the word 'nirâng.'

I think that the Pahlavi word nirang is another reading of the Pahlavi word *nirui* or niru which is Persian *niru* (نیرو), meaning strength or power. The same Pahlavi word that can be read nirui is read nirang. A nirang, whether it is a ritual, a prayer formula, a charm or amulet, or an incantation, gives to its performer, possessor, or reciter, power or strength, especially mental power or strength, as the result of faith.

In the Pazend Âfrin-i Gâhambâr[2] and in the Âfrin i-Ardâfarvash, we find the word *niru* in the sense of strength used with cognate words. We read there "*Aoj, zur, niru, tagi, amavandi, pirozgari hama fravash-i ashoān be-rasād*" *i.e.*, "May the strength, vigour, power, force, success, victory all reach the holy spirits of the pious[3]." This word *niru* when it occurs similarly in the Âfrin-i Rapithavin occurs as *nîru-i*. The sentence runs thus :—"*Pa aoj, va zor vu niru-i varz pirozgar-i Dadar Ahura Mazda*," [4] *i.e.*, "With the strength and vigour and power of the triumphant splendour of Dadar Ahuramazd." This word *nir i* as written here, may be clearly read *nirang*.

1 Le Zend Avesta, I Introduction, p. 89.

2 The Text of the Fravashi, Afringâns and Afrins published by Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria (1883), p. 196. Afrin-i Gahambar 4.

3 *Ibid* p. 178. Darmesteter translates this sentence thus :—"Que la vigueur, la force, la puissance, la fermeté, l'ascendant victorieux viennent aux Fravashis des saints"! (Le Zend Avesta III, p. 181).

4 Mr. Tehmuras's Text, p. 223 Afrin- Raphithhvan 21.

Dr. Steingass'[1] gives a Persian word 'niruyish' نیرویش as meaning "Divine decree, fate," and by putting a mark of interrogation before it, seems to have some doubt about the word. I think this word is the same as "*nirui*" which, in the above passage, is associated with Divine splendour. The final *i* (ي) which forms abstract nouns in Persian is written in Pahlavi and Pazend with a letter 𐬎 which can be read both "sh" and "ya or ih." For example, the Persian "shâdi" for joy, which is Avesta "shâiti," is written in Pahlavi "shadih" 𐬱𐬀𐬛𐬎 But, in the Pazend, the word is written and read "shadish." We have a number of such readings of abstract nouns in the Pazend Áfrin-i Haft Ameshashpandan.[2] So, Dr. Steingass's Persian word "*niruyish*" is nothing but *nirui*, which has originated the word "*nirang*."

From this short examination of the etymology and meaning of the word, we see that the word "nirang" has acquired the sense of incantation, charm, &c., because it gives power or strength to those who have faith in its recital.

A few Parsee Nirangs.

We have a number of *nirangs* still existing among some of the Pazend and Persian books of the Parsees[3], intended to be recited on certain occasions to avert certain maladies, evils and evil influences. I have given some of the nirangs in my papers[4] before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Among the *nirangs* that now exist, we do not find any special nirang enjoined to be recited on the appearance of a comet. But it seems certain, that latterly, in ancient Persia, some of the natural phenomena were believed to bring with them some calamities. As I have said in my paper on "A few ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse and a few Superstitions based on these Beliefs,"[5] "it was usual among the Parsees, until a few years ago, to say prayers on such occasions and to recite especially the Mahbokhtar Nyâish in the praise of the moon during lunar eclipses. Mr. Gaspard Drouville[6] said of the Zoroastrians in Persia in the early part of this century that "Ils adressent leurs priéres au soleil, et les jours d'eclipse sont pour eux jours de désolations et de deuil ;

1 Persian-English Dictionary, p. 1441.

2 Afrin-i Haft Ameshaspand 15. Ervad Tehmuras's text, p. 191.

3 *Vide* Revayet of Dârâb Hormazdyâr, Bombay University Library Manuscript, Vol. I., folios 155-165.

4 (*a*) Charms or amulets for some diseases of the Eye. The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. III (1894); p. 338 *et seq.* (*b*) Nirang-i Jashan-i Burzigarân. *Ibid*, Vol. V. (1900) p. 398. (*c*) Incantations for cutting the hair and the nails. *Ibid.* Vol. VIII.

5 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. III, No. 6, p. 360.

6 "Voyage en Perse" faites en 1813 Tome II p. 193.

ils se posterent alors la face contre terre et ne se relevent qu'au retour des rayons de cet astre."

We will see further on, that the comets were believed, as it were, to belong to the class of *paris* or fairies. So we have several Parsee *nirangs* still existing, and still recited by many—though not on occasions of the appearance of comets only—in which *paris* (fairies) are mentioned, and it is prayed that their influence may be averted. One of these *nirangs* is that known as the "Nirang of the Vanant Yasht." The other is that known as the " Nirang of the Haoma Yasht."[1] The third *nirang* of this kind is the " Nirang-i-kusti,"[2] *i.e.*, the prayer recited on putting on the sacred thread. The fourth is that known as the " Nirang-i-dur kardan-i-zulum-i divân va darujan" [3], *i.e.*, the incantation for averting the oppressive influence of the Demons and Drujs.

C.—What have the pishinigân to say about the comets ?

Now, we come to the third part of this section. Let us examine here briefly what the Pahlavi books of the *pishinigân* or the ancient Persians have to say generally on the subject of the comets. Before considering this subject, we must, first of all note, that in the Pahlavi Bundehesh, wherever the comets are referred to, they are generally referred to, together with the meteors.

Meteors and comets classed together in Pahlavi books.

Almost all scientific writers of the present day treat of comets and meteors in the same chapter or division.[4] They think of these as being two phenomena of well nigh the same kind. Some of the meteoric showers are believed to be the disintegrated parts of a comet. For example, the Perseides are believed to be connected with Swift's Comet or the Comet III of 1862. The Andromedes are believed to be the disintegrated portion of Biela's Comet. The Lyrids are connected with the Comet I of 1861. The Leonides are connected with the comet known as the Temple.

Prof. Newcomb connects these together, and while speaking of them under the heading " Connection of Comets and Meteors " says :—

" These objects had originally formed part of the comet and had gradually separated from it. When a comet is disintegrated . . . those portions of its mass which are not completely dissipated

[1] *Vide* Spiegel's Avesta translated by Bleeck. Khordeh Avesta, Vol. III., p. 190. LXV. *Vide* the Pazend Texts, edited by Ervad Edalji Kershaspji Antia and published by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet of Bombay, p. 174. [2] Spiegel *Ibid.* p. 4.

[3] *Vide* the Pazend Texts edited by E. K. Antia, pp. 181—182.

[4] The Twentieth Century Atlas of Popular Astronomy by Thomas Heath (1903), Chap. XIII, p. 92.

continue to revolve around the sun as minute particles, which get gradually separated from each other in consequence of there being no sufficient bond of attraction, but they still follow each other in line in nearly the same orbit."[1]

Reference to the Comets in the Bundehesh.

The Pahlavi Bundehesh, though it does not specifically refer to any connection between comets and meteors, speaks of them together. At times, both these bodies are mixed up together. It refers to the comets in chapters V, 1 ; XXVIII, 44, and XXX, 18, 31.

The fifth chapter, which is a chapter on a part of Astronomy, after speaking of the planets, speaks of two heavenly bodies as "*Gurcheher va duzdo mushpar dumbhomand.*" Dr. West translates these words as "Gocheher,[2] and the thievish Mushpar provided with tails." Here the word 'Gocheher' may, as suggested by Dr. West, refer to meteors. The word 'Mushpar' from its epithet *dumbhomand, i.e.*, "with tails," is evidently for the comet. For this heavenly body of Mushpar (comet) it is added "The sun has attached Mushpar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm."[3]

In the 28th chapter we have the words "Gocheher royashman va dumb va mush parik-i dumbhomand," *i.e.*, Gocheher, head and tail, and the tailed mush-parik. Here, we find that both the words "Gocheher" and "mush-parik" refer to comets. The words "head and tail" attached to Gocheher show that the word "Gocheher" also refers to the comet.

Then we find two more references to Gocheher in the 30th chapter of the Bundehesh. In the first place, it says "*Gucheher chegun dayan sepeher min tahi binâ barâ val zamik nafrunet.*"[4] Dr. West thus translates the sentence:—"As Gochihar falls in the celestial sphere from a moon beam on to the earth."[5] Here, he takes the word "Gochihar" as referring to a meteor. But Windischmann reads the word as "Gurzcheher" and translates it as "Komet Keulenkoph," *i.e.*, "a club-headed comet." Justi, reading it Gurcheher says of it, that it is "the name of a comet" (name eines Kometen).

Again, we read in the same chapter (Chap. XXX, 31). "*Gocheher mâr pavan zak ayokshest vatakhtah suszet*", *i.e.*, "Gocheher burns the serpent in the melted metal."

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[1] Prof. Newcomb's Astronomy for everybody, pp. 281-282.
[2] S. B. E., Vol. V. (1880), pp. 21-22.
[3] *Ibid* p. 22.
[4] *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 158.
[5] S. B. E. V., p. 125, Chap. XXX, 18

Pahlavi words for Comets.

From all these references in the Bundehesh, we find that the comets are known as "Gocheher" and "Mush" or "Mush-parik."

As to the word Gocheher, we find that the word itself varies in various manuscripts, and, even when written in the same way in some manuscripts, it is read by scholars in various ways, because some of the letters of the Pahlavi alphabet admit of various readings. Taking both these facts into consideration, we find that the word can be, and is, read as: Gochihar, Gurchihar, Gurgchihar, Gurzchihar, Durchihar, Gurzdâr, Gurgdâr. The words may respectively mean "cow-faced, boar-faced, wolf-faced, mace or club-faced, far-faced, club-keeper, wolf-keeper." Some of the several words for a comet in modern Persian, as given by Richardson in his English-Persian Dictionary, are juzahr (جوزہر) guzchahar (گوزچہر), guzh-chaharah (گوزچہرہ). Dr. Steingass in his Persian-English Dictionary gives the words gauz-chahar (p. 1102 گوزچہر) and jauzahr (p. 378 جوزہر) for a comet. Nizam-ud-din in his Tabakat-i Akbari gives the word "dur-danê" (دوردانہ) for a comet. All these are then derived from the Pahlavi word "Gurchihar" which can be, and which is, read variously. All the Persian words for a comet settle one thing, *viz.*, that the Pahlavi word "Gurchihar" and its equivalent readings in the Bundehesh refer more generally to "comets" than to "meteors."

Now, coming to the meaning of the Pahlavi word, we find, that the "comet" has derived its name, either from its apparent form of an animal,—like the cow, boar, or wolf—or of an instrument like the mace or club. These Pahlavi words then show that Abul Fazl, when he said that the comet assumed the forms of animals or of instruments like the spear or javelin, had the support of the Pahlavi writings—the writings of the ancient Persians whom he called the *pishinigân*, *i.e.*, the ancients.

Coming to the second word in Pahlavi for a comet, *viz.*, Mush-par, we do not find, that it has given an equivalent word to Persian for a comet. The word occurs twice in the Bundehesh (Chap. V, 1, 2 and Chap. XXVIII, 44). That the word is used for a comet is evident, because it has the appellation *dumbhomand*, *i.e.*, "with a tail" attached to it in both the places. As the words "*royashman va dumb*," *i.e.*, "head and tail" are attached to the word *Gochihar*, and as the word

"dumbhomand," *i.e.*, "with tail," is attached to "Mush-par," I conclude that the Pahlavi writers divided comets into the following two classes :—

(1) Those which were quite distinct, and which appeared both with their heads (or to speak in the modern scientific language with their nucleus and coma) and their tails.

(2) Those which appeared rather indistinct, *i.e.*, those whose tails only appeared.

I think Abul Fazl's division of the comets into two classes, *viz.*, (1) the Zawât'l-azwáb, (or zuzvabê), *i.e.*, those with locks of hair and (2) the Zuzanáb, *i.e.*, those with tails, corresponds to the above division of the Pahlavi Bundehesh, *viz.*, the *Gochihar* and the *Mush-par*.

As to the meaning of the word Mush-par, it is difficult to settle it. In an old text of the Bundehesh, in one place (Chapter XXVIII, 4), the word is given as Mush-parik.[1] This *Mush-par* or *Mush-parik* is the *Mush-pairika* of the Avesta (Yaçna XVI 8, LXVIII 8) where the words Mush and pairika, seem to have been used as two separate words. The Avesta word *pairika* is the same as Pahlavi *parik* Persian *pari*, English *fairy*. Thus, we find, that "Mush," the Avesta and Pahlavi word for a comet, has the word *pairika* or *parik* or *par* meaning fairy, attached to it, both in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi. Similarly, we find that the "Meteors" which belong to the same class of bodies as the "Comets," are referred to in the Avesta (Tir Yasht 8), as belonging to a class of fairies.

It appears from some of the Pahlavi books, that at one time, the ancient Persians distinguished between the Sun, the Moon and the Fixed Stars on the one hand, and the planets, the comets and meteors on the other hand. The former belonged to the class of the creation of Spenta Mainuyu, *i.e.*, the Good Spirit, and the latter to that of the creation of the Angra Mainyu, *i.e.*, the Evil Spirit.[2] In the Pahlavi Zadsparam (chap. IV, 3) the planets are represented as being opposed to the Sun and the Moon. The reason, why the Sun, the Moon and the Fixed Stars are represented as belonging to the creations of the Good Spirit, and the planet and the comets and meteors to those of the Evil Spirit, seems to be this : What is orderly and systematic is said to move in the path of Asha, *i.e.*, Righteousness and Order. What is disorderly and unsystematic is opposed to Asha and is said to move in the path of the Dravant, *i.e.*, the wandering. Now "Planets" as their very English word (from its Greek root signifying to

[1] S. B. E., Vol. V (1880), p. 22 n. 1.

[2] The Bundehesh, Chap. XXVIII, 43-45 ; S. B. E., Vol. V (1880), pp. 113-114.

" wander ") implies, are " wandering stars," as compared with the " fixed stars." So they are represented to belong to the class of the Evil Spirit.

The fairies, according to the ideas of the ancient Persians, belonged to the class of the creations of the Evil Spirit. Pairik, Parik, Par or Pari, the Iranian words for a 'fairy' come from a root " par " meaning " to tempt, to enchant." The English word 'fairy' also comes from a similar root (fiér to enchant). Thus, the wandering bodies of comets and meteors were termed 'fairies' as belonging to the class of the creatures of the Evil Spirit.

This idea of considering the planets and the comets and meteors as belonging to the class of the Evil Spirit seems to be a later one. It does not seem to be early Avestaic. This appears from the very names of the planets. They all bear the names of some of the Yazatas or good beings named in the Avesta. For example, the planet Jupiter is called Ormazd (Ahura Mazda). Mars is called Beharâm (Verethragna). Venus is called Nâhid (Anâhita). The Oulamâ-i Islam[1] says that Ahura Mazda had given these planets good names. Thus the idea of attributing evil influences to the meteors and comets, which we see in later Pahlavi books and in the Persian books of Mahomedan authors, seems to be a later one.

We find a reference to the comets (Mush-pairika) in the Avesta also. They are referred to in the (Yaçna XVI 8, LXVIII 8). The Pahlavi translators of the Avesta render Mush-Parika by Mushparik.[2] The Persian rendering of this is " mush yani pari harâmzâd[3] i' *i.e.*, Mush, which is the ill-born fairy. In the above Yaçna, we find faint allusions to the belief that the appearances of the comets were opposed to the prosperity of a country.

Now, as to the word Mush, which forms the first part of the word Mush-parika, Mush-parik or Mush-par, it comes from the Aryan root " mush " to injure. This word seems to be the same as Persian Mush (موش), English " mouse." So, perhaps one may take it, that one of the animal forms, which, the comet, according to Abûl Fazl, was believed to assume, was that of the " mouse." Prof. Harlez derives the word from the root " mush " to steal, which we find in the Sanskrit word, *mushnâmi*, *i.e.*, a thief. If we take that to be the proper root of the word, the Pahlavi word " duzina " (Persian duzd دزد)

1 Fragments, relatifs à la Religion de Zoroastre. Extraits des Manuscripts Persans de la Bibliothèque du Roi (Paris 1829) p. 5. *Vide* M. Blochet's article " Le Livre Intitulé L'oulama-i-Islam " in the " Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (1898).

2 Spiegel's Pahlavi Yaçna, p. 96, l. 1 (mush-parir).

3 My manuscript of the Avesta-Pahlavi-Persian Yaçna, Vol, I, p. 188.

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i.e., a thief, which we find applied to Mush-par in the Bundehesh, supports that assumption. Dr. Mills asks:—"Is it possible that a plague of mice is meant, *mush* being here undeclinable?" This reminds us of what is said in the abovementioned Mahomedan work, the "Ikbâl nameh-i-Jehângiri." There, in the account of the phenomenon of a comet that appeared in the 13th year of King Jehangir, it is said :—"In the environs and dependencies of the city, the mice had increased to such an extent that they left no trace of either crops or fruits. With the greatest difficulty, perhaps, only one-fourth of the produce was saved to the cultivators. In the same manner, the fields of melons, and the produce of orchards and vineyards were totally destroyed ; and when no fruit and no corn remained in the gardens and in the fields, by degrees the mice all died off."[1]

The Bundehesh (Chap. V.) says of the comet that "the sun has attached Mush-par (*i.e.*, the comet) to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm." [2] This statement refers to the movement of the comet round the sun, alluded to by Abul Fazl and referred to by modern scientific writers, who say that moving under the influence of the sun, it always describes a conic section, the curve of which is in the form of an ellipse, a parabola or an hyperbola.

The evil influences believed to be resulting from the appearance of a comet as mentioned by Abul Fazl are thus referred to in the Bundehesh :—"By them these ten worldly creations, that is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vileness ; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation and the other creatures which exist in the world."[3]

The Bundehesh[4] thus refers to the terror struck among the people by the appearance of a comet :—"The distress of the earth becomes such like as that of a sheep when a wolf falls upon it." The Avesta,[5] Pahlavi, Pazend[6] and Persian[7] books when they want to speak of a great alarm or terror, use this simile, *viz.*, that of the sheep being frightened by the coming of a wolf in their midst.

1 Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 407.

2 S. B. E. Vol. V (1880) p. 22.

3 Bundehesh, Chap. XXVIII, 45. S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 114.

4 *Ibid* Chap. XXX, 18. S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 125.

5 Vendidad XIX, 33.

6 Afrin-i Ardafarosh.

7 Le Livre des rois par M. Mohl, vol. I, p. 365. "Il apercut ses hommes de guerre qu'avaient peur de l'elephant comme une brebis quand elle voit la face du loup."

A Few Materials for a Chapter in the Early History of Bactria, collected from some Iranian Sources.

(*Read, 23rd March* 1914.)

I.

INTRODUCTION.

Prof. H. G. Rawlinson of the Deccan College had published in 1909, his interesting Prize-essay, entitled " Bactria, from the Earliest times to the Extinction of Bactrio-Greek Rule in the Punjab." I had the pleasure of reviewing it in the *Jâm-i-Jamshed* of Bombay, at the request of its Editor. In that review, while noticing the fact that the author began his subject with the early traces of history referred to by classical authors, I drew attention to the fact that Bactria was referred to in the Vendidad of the Parsees, which, following the reasoning of the late Dr. Haug, Professor of Sanskrit at the Poona College, may be taken to have been written at least about 1,200 years before Christ. This review led to some correspondence with the learned author, who then thought of re-publishing his essay as a second edition. In one of his letters, he said: " In republishing my little work, I badly want a reliable text-book on what is known of the Early History of Bactria and Iran, *e.g.*, in the time of Zarathushtra and the Kaiyanian kings . . . . . The new Encyclopædia Britannica dismisses the early history as 'legendary.' But I want to know about it—legendary or not."

As far as I knew, there was no reliable text-book treating of the early history, even the legendary history of Bactria. So, to supply some materials to Prof. Rawlinson, I had then taken up the study of that subject. This paper is the humble result of that short study, the materials of which I had the pleasure of sending to Prof. Rawlinson in 1910. I beg to place these materials with some additions before this Society for its Journal, with a view that they may be of some use, however little, to other students of the History of Bactria.

As said in my above review, the ancient history of Bactria is interesting, both to the Parsees and to the Hindus, because it is

the history of a country which lies between Irân, the ancient motherland of the Parsees, and Hindustan, the motherland of the Hindus. "Bactria served as a connecting link between the West and the East. It is still well-nigh an open question, whether India gave much to the West or the West gave much to India. In any case, Bactria was the land that served as an intermediate seat for transferring the traits of the civilization of one country to the other. . . . . We think, that both Greece and Iran had their influence upon Hindustan and that Hindustan had its influence in turn upon both." In the case of the influence from the West, "it was Iran that had greatly, strongly and permanently impressed India. The great Hindu king Asoka in an early period, and the great Mahomedan king Akbar in a later period, were kings whose reigns stand as great landmarks in the history of India, both from the material and the mental and moral points of view. Leaving aside the question, as to how Akbar's rule in India led to the influence of Persia upon India, . . one can pretty safely say, that the great Asoka had some Iranian ideals before him. The Achæmenian rule over some regions in the very vicinity of India lasting for a pretty long time, and over the country itself for a number of years, had a great influence upon India. If nothing else, Asoka's edicts have left an indelible stamp on the history of India. Asoka took his conception of inscribing them upon columns from the practice of Achæmenian kings like Darius whose inscriptions over columns and rocks are well-known."

With these few introductory words I come to the subject proper of my paper. I will first speak (A) of the References to Bactria in the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, and then (B) of the History—legendary or not—as given by old Mahomedan writers like Firdousi, Maçoudi and Tabari.

II.

(A) REFERENCES TO BACTRIA IN THE AVESTA AND PAHLAVI BOOKS OF THE PARSEES.

Bactria, the Bâkhdhi of the Avesta.

Bactria is the Bâkhdhi 𐬚𐬀𐬵𐬙𐬌 of the Avesta,[1] Bâkhtri[2] of the cuneiform inscriptions, Bâkhar or Bâkhal of the Pahlavi writers, and Balkh of the early and later Mahomedan writers. As Prof. Darmesteter[3] points out, the later name Balkh comes from the Avesta Bâkhdhi. Bâkhdhi would be Bâkhli in later Persian ("dh" would be "l"; cf. Avesta *madhakha* (locust): Persian *malakh*). The Pahlavi translator

[1] Vendidad I, 7. [2] The Inscription of Behistun Col. I, 6. Tolman's Guide to Old Persian Inscriptions, p. 55. [3] Le Zend-Avesta II. p. 8.

of the Vendidad renders Bâkhdhi into Bâkhal or Bâkhar (𐬚𐬀𐬑𐬭) [1]. Then "kh" and "l" change places and Bâkhli or Bâkhal becomes Balkh.

The earliest reference to Bactria in the Parsee books is that in the Vendidad, where (Chap. I. 7) it is spoken of as the fourth city created by Ahura Mazda, the preceding three being Airyana-vaeja (Irân), Sugdh (Sogdiana), and Môuru (Merv). It is there spoken of as "*Bâkhdhîm srîrâm eredhvô drafshâm*," *i.e.*, "Bâkhdhi, the beautiful, with the up-lifted banner." As pointed out by Dr. Haug, the list of the 16 cities named in this second chapter of the Vendidad does not contain the name of the old Iranian city of Ecbatana (Hagamatâna of the Behistun Inscriptions II, 13, Achmetha of the Scriptures, Ezra VI 2, modern Hamadan), founded, according to Herodotus[2] by Deioces of Media (B. C. 708). This fact shows that the Vendidad, or at least this chapter of the Vendidad, was written before 708 B. C. So, this is a reference to Bactria as old as the 8th century before Christ.

Again, the fact of the city being mentioned as one with up-lifted banners shows, that it was the capital city carrying the royal banners. Now, as Bactria fell into the hands of the Assyrians and thus ceased to be the capital city with royal banners at about B. C. 1200, it appears, that this reference to Bactria is as old as the 12th or 13th century B. C.

In the above-mentioned reference in the Vendidad, Bactria or Balkh is spoken of

(1) as being beautiful and
(2) as a city with up-lifted banners.

As to the first epithet of Bactria referred to in the Vendidad, *viz.*,

1. Bâkhdhi, the beautiful, the renowned.

that it was beautiful (*srîrâm*), we find, that it continued to be spoken thus, for a long time afterwards, even up to the Mahomedan times.

(*a*) The Pahlavi commentator has spoken of the city as "*nyôk pavan dîdan* (𐬯𐬌𐬴 𐬐𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬈 𐬛𐬌𐬛𐬀𐬈)[3]" *i.e.*, good to look at. This is the way in which the commentator has rendered the Avesta word (*sṛîrâm*) for beautiful.

(*b*) The grand Bundehesh [4] also, while translating this chapter, speaks of the city as (*nyôk pavan dîdan*) "good to look at."

[1] Vendidad by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, p. 7, Chap. I. 7.

[2] Bk. I. 98.

[3] Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp's Vendidad, p. 7.

[4] The Bûndahishn, edited by Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria, with an Introduction by Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, published by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet (1908), p. 206, 13, *et seq.* This chapter is the 38th chapter in the list of Dr. West. S. B. E., Vol. V, Introduction, p. XXXVII.

(*c*) In the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân, we read the following on this city :—

Dayan Bâkhar-i-nâmîk shatrôstân Novâzako Spendadâd-i-Vishtâspân benman kard. Avash varzâvand Âtash-i-Vâharân tamman etibûnast. Avash nizeh-i nefshman tamman barâ makhîtûnt. Avash val Gubâhkân va Suj-i-Pikâhkân va Churâhkân vâ Rabâkân va Guhram va Tûrchâv va Arjâsp-iKhyonân-shâh paêtâm shetunit âigh nizeh-i le barâ negîrîd. Kolâ-mûn pavan nîzashne-i denman nîzeh negîred meman dayan val airân shatro dôbâret [1].

Translation :—

" Spendadâd, the son of Vishtâsp, founded the city of Novâzako in the renowned country of Bâkhar. He established there the glorious Âtash Vâhrân (Âtash Behrâm). He struck his lance there. He sent a message to Gubâhkân and Suj-e-Pikâhkân and Churhâkân and Rabâkân and Guhram and Turchâv and Arjâsp, the king of the Khyaonas, that 'Look to my lance. Those who may look to the interpretation of this lance may run to the country of Irân (to render submission)'."[2]

The country of Bâkhar, referred to here, is the Bâkhdhi of the Vendidad, whose Pahlavi translators also have called it Bâkhar. In this passage, the Shatroihâ-i-Airân calls it "nâmik" *i.e.*, renowned. Among the later Mahomedan authors, Maçoudi [3] has spoken of it as بلخ الحسنا Ballkh al hasanâ, *i.e.*, Balkh the beautiful. Here, the word "*hasanâ*," corresponds to the word "*srirâm*" of the Avesta. Other Mahomedan authors have spoken of it as Balkh-i-*bâmi*, *i.e.*, the exalted or the great Balkh. Firdousi speaks of it as Balkh-i-*guzin*, *i.e.*, Balkh, the select or the elect.

2. Bakhdhi, the city of an uplifted banner.

Coming to the second statement of the Vendidad, *viz.*, that it was the city with an uplifted banner, it was so called, because, being the capital of some of the known Kaiyânian kings, especially of king Gushtâsp, in whose reign Zoroaster, the prophet, flourished, the royal banner flew over it. Prof. Spiegel takes this view, when he says, that the "tall plumes (*i.e.*, the tall banners) indicate the imperial banner (mentioned also by Firdousi) and refer consequently to the time when Bactria was the seat of the empire."[4] M. Harlez also takes the same view. He says : "Ces drapeaux élevés étaient peut-être la marque de la résidence du chef du pays."[5]

[1] Pahlavi texts, edited by Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji Jamaspasana, p. 19.

[2] *Vide* my "Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân va Afdiya va Sahigiya-i-Sistân," pp. 59-61.

[3] Maçoud,i traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 121.

[4] Spiegel, translated by Bleeck, Vol. I, p. 10, note 3.

[5] Avesta, Livre sacré du Zoroastrisme, p. 8, note 7.

Reasons, why it was so called.

It appears, that during the Sassanian times, when the Pahlavi translators and commentators wrote, some doubts had arisen, as to why it was called in the Vendidâd the city of uplifted banners.

(*a*) The commentators, at first, gave their own explanation, which is the usual above explanation, *viz.*, that "the banner" (*i.e.*, the royal banner) was uplifted over it (âigh darafsh dayan afrâsht yekhsund).

(*b*) Then, the commentators added, that there were some who said that there were many banners flying over it (aît mûn aîtûn yemellund âi kabdih dayan afrâsend).[1] As to this second reason, *viz.*, that it was called the city of uplifted banners because many banners flew over it, we find a reference to it in the Grand Bundehesh,[2] where it is said, "martûmî tamnan darafsh pavan tûkhshâkîh yakhsunend," *i.e.*, men there hold the banners with energy.

Now, as to why, later on, there were many banners over the city, instead of one, some thing may be learnt from the Pahlavi commentary which adds the words "âig dûshman madam dayan kushend" which mean that "these men kill their enemies." Prof. Harlez [3] says, that by this remark, the commentators meant to say, that there were frequent battles in Bactria. But Harlez himself thinks, that they were the banners over the tents of the people and the towers of the city.

(*c*) The Great Fire-Temple of Balkh or Bactria.

A statement of Yakout seemed to point to another reason for its latterly being called a city of many banners. He said that the city had a great temple called Nao-bahâr نوبهار and that the worshippers at the temple—perhaps the distinguished visitors like princes and generals—raised banners on its *gunbad* (cupola) as their marks of respect. Barbier De Meynard thus refers to Yakout's statement :—

"Ce temple était en grande vénération chez les Persans, qui s'y rendaient de fort loin en pèlerinage, le revetaient d' étoffes précieuses et plantaient des drapeaux au sommet de la coupole" (Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 569).

The Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân also refers to a Fire-temple in the city. A part of the name of the place Novâzako or Naozako, where the

[1] *Vide* Vendidad by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, Vol. I, Texts, pp. 7-8.

[2] *Vide* the edition of Ervad Tahmuras, (above referred to, p. 206, l. 4.)

[3] "La seconde glose pehlvie, il est vrai, voit dans ces termes une indication des guerres frèquentes qu'entreprenaient les Bactriens" (Le Zend Avesta, p. 8, n. 7).

fire-temple was founded, seems to be similar to a part of the name Naobahâr.

Firdousi [1] also thus refers to the fire-temple named Naobahâr

ببلخ گزین شد برآن نوبهار — که آتشپرستان بود آن روزگار

i.e. In the famous Balkh, Naobahâr was put up, because, there were fire-worshippers there at the time.

Dr. Hyde [2] translates the word Naobahar in Latin, as Novum ver (*i.e.*, new spring). The Navâzako of the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân seems to be the same with the Naobahâr of Firdousi, Yakout and others; or it may be the same as Naoshar which was a fortress or palace in Balkh.[3] Of the several gates of Balkh, one was known as the Dar-i-Naobahâr, *i.e.*, the gate of Naobahâr.[4] Perhaps the Novazak referred to here may be the Nuwazi Fire-temple of the coins.[5]

Aspandyâr, the *nizehvar* of Bactria.

The name of Aspandyâr, the son of Gushtâsp, is connected with Balkh in the above-quoted passage of the Shatroihâ-i-Airân. Therein, this prince is spoken of as using his *nizeh* or lance which seems to have been his special weapon in religious war. This explains the blessing, prayed for over the marrying couple, even now, by the Parsees, in their Âshirwâd prayer, wherein it is said "Nizehvar baid chun Aspandyâr" *i.e.*, May you be a good user of the lance like Aspandyâr.

The River of Bactria.

Among the Pahlavi books, the Bundehesh, speaking of the rivers of Irân, speaks of the river of Balkh, as one of the twenty principal rivers of Iran, [6] and as flowing from the Bâmiyân (Bâmikân) mountains [7] into the river Veh, supposed to be the Indus. Bactria or Balkh was in the Sassanian times supposed to be a part of Hindustan.[8]

Bactria, spoken of as the birth-place of Zoroaster.

Some manuscripts of the Bundehesh, [9] speak of Balkh as the birth place of Zoroaster. This reminds us of one of the old classical statements [10] about one Zoroaster being the Magian king of Bactria in the time of Ninus and Semiramis.

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[1] "Le Livre des Rois" par M. Mohl, IV, p. 358, l. 15.

[2] Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia, pp. 102, 305.

[3] Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 572.

[4] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 223.

[5] Numasmatic and other Antiquarian illustrations of the rule of the Sassanians by E. Thomas, p. 17.

[6] Chap. XX, 7. [7] Ibid, 22. [8] S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 59, n. 4, p. 77, n. 7.

[9] Chap XXIV, 15. S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 89, n. 6.

[10] "Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum (Justin I, 1, 9, Diodorus II 6.) *Vide* "L' Expédition de Ninos et des Assyriens, contre un Ro. de la Bactrie" par Dr. Engéne Wilhelm, p. 1, n.1.

The Curse over Bactria.

According to the Vendidad and the Grand Bundehesh, as opposed to Ahura Mazda's blessings over the city, there was a curse from the Ahriman on it. It is very difficult to settle the meaning of the words (bravaremcha usadhascha nurtu) which describe the curse. Spiegel translates the words as "buzzing insects and poisonous plants."[1] Darmesteter is doubtful about the meaning, but, following the Gujarati translation of Aspandyârjee Rabâdi, takes the curse to be that of "the corn-carrying ants."[2]

Mr. Framjee Aspandyarjee Rabâdi translates this thus: [3]તેથી તે શેહરમાં મોહત ભરેલા ગનામીનોઅે મોટી ધાત પેદા કીધી જે દાના ખેંચનાર કીડી હતી (યાને તે જગોઅે દાના ખેંચનાર કીડી ઘણી વસેછે અને અનાજ સુરાખમાં ખેંચી જાય છે.)

The Grand Bundehesh [4] thus speaks of the curse :

اوش پتیارہ سرک ویش متہ خانہ سرک لالا واذنت بر انباستہ

Avash patyâreh surak vesh mateh khâneh surak lálâ vâdunet, bara anbâsteh.

Translation—Opposed to it is the fact, that many holes have come there. The houses are made over holes and collected together.

It seems that the curse was that of some poisonous insects, which, according to the commentators, seemed to abound there on account of the porous and therefore damp soil of the place.

III.

DIFFERENT STATEMENTS AS TO WHO FOUNDED BACTRIA.

Different writers attribute the foundation of Bactria to different kings of Persia. In this connection, we must bear in mind, that the city may have been founded by a particular person at first, but, when, after some times of adversity, it was restored to prosperity by another person, later writers often referred to this second person as its founder.

According to Kâzwini [5], it was founded by Kayomars, the first of the Irânian kings. Some authors attribute its foundation to Tehmurasp.[6] According to Tabari,[7] Minocheher owned it, and Afrasiâb, the Turânian king, captured it from his hands and lived there. It reverted to the hands of the Irânian kings and Kaikobâd and Kâus lived there. King

[1] Spiegel, translated by Bleeck I, p. 10.

[2] S. B. E., Vol. IV, 1880, p. 6, n. 6.

[3] The text and the translation published by Aspandyarji's grandson Ervad Jamshedji Framji Rabadi in 1900, Translation, p. 4.

[4] The Bundahishn edited by the late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshajee Anklesaria, p. 206, ll. 4-5.

[5] Ousley's Travels II, p. 372.

[6] Kinnier's Persian Empire, p. 187.

[7] Tabari, traduit par Zotenberg I, pp. 277, 407, 462.

Lohrâsp made it his capital and gave it the appellation of "Housna"[1] *i.e.*, the beautiful (cf. the word *srirâm*, *i.e.*, the beautiful, in the Avesta). This word "housna" of Tabari is the same as "al hasana" (the beautiful) of Maçoudi. According to other writers, king Kâus founded it.[2] Mirkhond, in his Rauzat-us-Safa, attributes its foundation to Kayomars[3], but adds, that according to some historians it was founded by Lohrâsp[4]. According to the same author, Lohrâsp was called "Balakhi",[5] because he had made it his capital. Ahmed Razi[6] also attributes its foundation to king Kaiomars.

According to Firdousi, King Lohrasp and King Gushtasp had their courts at Balkh and it was here that Zoroaster explained his religion to the king.

According to Maçoudi,[7] king Kai Kâus first made Balkh, the capital of the kings of Iran, and all the rulers up to queen Homai continued to hold their court there.

Ardeshir Babegân, the founder of the Sassanian Empire, is said to have called in this city his great assembly of the nobles and the learned for the Irânian Renaissance.[8]

Mirkhond's strange etymology of the name Balkh.

Mirkhond gives the following story which gives a strange etymology of the name 'Balkh' :—"Kaiomars had a brother in the regions of the west, who occasionally came to visit him : who at this time having undertaken the journey to converse with his revered brother, found on his arrival at Damâvend, that Kaiomars was absent. On inquiring into his affairs, and learning that he was then engaged in founding a city in the east, this affectionate brother immediately directed his course thither, and completed the long journey. At the moment of his arrival, Kaiomars, who was seated on an eminence, having beheld his brother, exclaimed, 'Ho ! Who is this who directs his course towards us ?' One of his sons answered, 'Perhaps a spy, sent by the enemy to find out our situation.' On which, Kaiomars armed himself, and, accompanied by the same son, went out to meet him : but when they drew near each other, Kaiomars recognised his brother and said to his son, Bal-Âkh ! (Arabic بل assuredly, and اخ brother) (*i.e.*, this is surely my brother) from which circumstance the city was called Balkh."

[1] Ibid, p. 491.
[2] Dictionnaire Géorgraphique, &c., de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n. 1
[3] Mirkhond, translated by Shea, p. 58.
[4] Ibid, p. 59, (Mirkhond's text, lithographed in Bombay, p. 150).
[5] Ibid, p. 272.
[6] Dictionnaire Géographique de de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n. 1.
[7] Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, II, pp. 119-120.
[8] Kinnier's Persian Empire, p. 187.

IV.

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY AS GIVEN BY MAHOMEDAN AUTHORS.

We will close this paper with the legendary history of the city as given by Firdousi, Tabari, Mirkhond, &c.

Firdousi.

Firstly, according to Firdousi, the first mention of Balkh in the Shah-nameh is that in the reign of king Kai Kâus, who sends his army into the provinces of Merv, Nishâpur, Balkh and Herat, and establishes order and justice there.[1] Some time after this, Afrâsiâb, the king of Turkestan, brought an invasion upon Iranian territories. He occupied Balkh. Kai Kâus declared war against him and sent his son Siâvakhsh to the war. Siâvakhsh passed through the provinces of Thalikân and Herat, and went towards Balkh.[2] He laid siege and took the city. He rested there long and sent a message of victory to his father. In the meantime Afrâsiâb sent his brother Karsevaz to him to sue for peace.[3] Siâvakhsh accepted peace and communicated the fact from Balkh to his father, Kai Kâus, who directed him not to accept peace, but to invade Turkestân. As Siâvakhsh hesitated to march against Turkestân, having promised peace to Afrâsiâb, Kai Kâus sent his general Tus to command the army. Siâvakhsh returned to the country of Afrâsiâb who offered him shelter.

Balkh continued in the hands of the Iranians under Kaikhushru, and in the war, known as the war of the twelve champions دوازده رخ some of the battles were fought in the territories adjoining Balkh.[4] In the peace, proposed by Piran, the Turânian Nestor and general, to Godrez, the Iranian Nestor and general, he proposed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Iranian king over all the country, including Bost, Fariah, Thalakan, the country of Balkh up to Anderab, the five villages of Bamian, the country of Gorukan and in short all the country from Balkh to Badakhshan.[5] Later on, on his return from Touran to Iran, king Kaikhushru passed through Balkh and stayed there for one month.[6]

Lohrasp, the successor of Kaikhushru, when he abdicated the throne of Iran and gave it to his son Gushtasp, returned to the Fire-temple of

[1] Le Livre des Rois II, p. 41.
[2] Ibid, p. 253-57.
[3] Ibid, p. 269.
[4] Ibid, III, 429-31.
[5] Ibid, III, p. 507.
[6] Ibid, IV. p. 189.

Naobahar situated in the province of Balkh.[1] Lohrasp's son Gushtasp also founded a fire-temple at Balkh.[2] This fire-temple was known as the Fire-temple of Azer Barzin. It is one of the four Fire-temples, the names of which are still recited by the Parsees in their Âtash Nyâish.

King Gushtasp, the son of Lohrasp, was ruling at Balkh when Zoroaster promulgated his religion and taught it to the king. The Turanian king Arjasp, who declared war against Zoroaster's new religion, sent his messenger to the Iranian king at Balkh.[3] Firdousi here speaks of Balkh as Balkh-i-nâmi,[4] *i.e.*, the famous or known Balkh. A little before, he speaks of it as Balkh-i-guzin, *i.e.*, Balkh the select or the chosen. King Gushtasp declared war from this city and left it for the frontiers with his minister Jamasp.[5]

When Arjasp commenced the second war against Gushtasp, before doing so, he sent a spy to look into the state of affairs at Balkh. The spy found that king Gushtasp was not in the capital, and so, it was a splendid opportunity to invade the country. Arjasp marched against Balkh and killed Lohrasp, who had retired in a fire-temple there. He also extinguished the sacred fire, and Zoroaster, who was there, was also killed. Gushtasp, on hearing this, came to Balkh but was defeated and was obliged to run away.

Coming to the Sassanian times, we see that a little of legend is mixed up with historical facts. We find a reference to Balkh in the time of Behram Gour to whom the noblemen of the city paid their homage. Noshirwan the Just (Chosroes I) had conquered Balkh from the Haitalians.[6] Balkh continued in the hands of the Iranians in the reign of Hormazd.[7] In the account of the reign of Khosru Purviz, we find, that the proverb "truthful words are always bitter"[8] is attributed to a wise man of Balkh. On the death of Yazdagard, Mahrui, the traitor, entrusted the governorship of Balkh and Herat to his eldest brother.[9]

Tabari.

According to Tabari,[10] in the time of the Peshdadiyan king Minocheher, whom he makes a contemporary of Moses, Balkh together with Merv was in the hands of the Turanian king Afrâsiâb. Then, it (Balkh) passed into the hands of the Iranians, because we find Kaikobad

[1] Ibid, p. 359-63.
[2] Ibid, 279-281.
[3] Ibid, also *vide* p. 387.
[4] Ibid, p. 375.
[5] Ibid, VI, p. 355.
[6] Ibid, p. 387.
[7] Ibid, p. 689.
[8] Mohl VII, p. 44.

نگر تا چه گوید سخن گوي بلخ
که باشد سخن گفتن راست تلخ

[9] Ibid, VIII, p. 493.
[10] Tabari par Zotenberg, I, p., 277.

having his residence there.[1] Kai Kâus, who was represented as being a contemporary of Soloman, had also his residence in Balkh.[2] Kaikhushro, the successor of Kai Kâus, when he prepared to wage war against the Turanian Afrâsiâb, to revenge his father's death, collected his large army at Balkh. Lohrasp, the successor of Kai Khusru had his residence at Balkh, which he called Hosana, [3] *i.e.*, the beautiful. This Lohrasp. had Bakhtnasar (Nebuchednezzar) who expelled the Hebrews from Jerusalem, as his general. He remained at Balkh to watch the Turks and asked Nebuchednezzar to invade Syria, Irak, Yemen and other western countries. Lohrasp died in Balkh.

Gushtasp, the son and successor of Lohrasp, on coming to the throne, heard that Nebuchednezzar, the general of his father, had devastated Syria and Palestine, and was much afflicted. Nebuchednezzar then lived at Babylon. Gushtasp sent his general Kouresh (Cyrus) to Irak and recalled Nebuchednezzar to Balkh. He also directed that Jerusalem may be restored to the Jews. Kouresh (Cyrus) went to Babylon, sent back Nebuchednezzar to Balkh, restored Jerusalem to the Jews and appointed, one of themselves, Daniel, the prophet to rule over them.[4]

With the conquest of Iran by Alexander, Balkh had passed into the hands of the Greeks. We do not learn any thing from Tabari, as to how it passed into Greek hands and what became of it till we come to the reign of Yazdagard, the son of Behram, the great grandfather of Noshirwan the Just. At this time, it was in the hands of Khoushnawâz, the king of the Hayatalites (Euttalites). On the death of Yazdagard, his son Hormuz seized the throne of Persia. Firouz, the eldest son, who was then in Seistan, asked the assistance of Khoushnawaz and with his help, gained the throne of Iran. After some time, the people of Balkh and the adjoining countries appealed against the tyranny of Khoushnawaz to Firouz who invaded Balkh and the adjoining territories of Khoushnawaz. An old general of the Hayatalian king performed a ruse. He got his limbs mutilated, as if at the hands of his king, and appealing to the sense of justice of Firouz got into his confidence, and then, under the garb of being his guide, led him

[1] Ibid, p. 407. [2] Ibid, p. 462.

[3] Ibid, p. 491.

[4] Ibid, page 496. According to the Pahlavi Dinkard (Bk. V, chap. I, 5-6, Dastur Peshotan's Vol. IX, p. 611, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, pp. 120-121), and other later Mahomedan writers, Nebuchednezzar or Bakhtnasar, whose Persian name is said to be Reham, (Mirkhond translated by Shea, p. 214) and Kouresh or Cyrus were the Generals of Gushtasp. At times, a question is raised as to why Firdousi and other eastern writers have not referred to Cyrus and his Achæminian successors. These writers throw a side-light on the question and say that these Achæminian rulers were the contemporaries and vassals of the Iranian king Gushtâsp and his successors who ruled at Balkh. They latterly became independent. The Pahlavi Minokherad also refers to the taking of Jerusalem by Lohrasp. (Chap. XXVI, 64-67).

(Firouz) and his army into the hands of the enemy. Firouz was killed by Khousnawaz.

Afterwards Noshirwan, the grandson of Firouz, conquered Balkh from the hands of the Hayatalites. It continued in the hands of the successors of Noshirwan till the time of the Arab conquest, when it passed into the hands of the Arab conquerors.

Maçoudi.

According to Maçoudi, Kai Kâus was the first King who transferred the royal residence from Irak to Balkh [1]. His (Kaiyanian) dynasty continued to live there and to hold it as their capital.[2] They called the river of Balkh, Kalef, and the foreigners inhabiting Khorasan knew it by that name. Balkh continued to be the capital up to the time of Queen Homai, the daughter of Bahman, who made Medain (Ctesiphon) her capital. According to some local traditions, Lohrasp built the city of Balkh, the beautiful (Balkh al-Hosana), whose well-watered territories and green forests had much attraction for him. Gushtasp, the son of Lohrasp, also had his capital at Balkh. [3]

It was when Gushtasp was on the throne of Balkh for 30 years that Zoroaster, the son of Esbiman (ذرادشت بن اسپیمان) appeared in his court. This Esbiman is the Spitaman of the Avesta.

An important point in the legendary history of Balkh.

There is one point in the legendary history, as given by the Mahomedan writers, that draws our special attention. It is that of Nebuchednezzar being a General under Cyrus the Great. We know, that Western Classical authors speak of him as an ally of Cyrus. The Pahlavi Minokherad and the Dinkard support the statements of the Mahomedan historians.

This is a very large and important question—a question that seems to throw some side-light upon the two very puzzling, but at the same time very important questions of the history of Persia, *viz.* :—

1. The Age of Zoroaster.
2. The question, as to, in what relation of time, the Achæmenian dynasty stands to the Kayanian. Does it precede or succeed it ?

There arises with these two main questions, several minor questions, as to why the Kayanians are not mentioned by the Classical writers and why the Parsee books do not refer to the Achæmenians, and so on.

[1] Maçoudi, taduit par Barbier de Meynard II, p. 119. [2] Ibid, p. 120. [3] Ibid. p. 123.

A clue to the solution of all these questions, which are dependent upon one another, may be found in the statement, that the Achæmenians and the Kayanians were contemporaries, the former ruling in the West, the latter in the East. Such a supposition would confirm the date of Zoroaster as given by Parsee books. But it is still an unsolved question and requires very great consideration.

Goethe's Parsi-nameh or Buch des Parsen, i.e., the Book of the Parsees.

(*Read, 23rd November* 1914.)

I.

Introduction.

THE subject of this paper was first suggested to me, about six years ago, by an interesting article of Prof. Dowden in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1908, [1] entitled "Goethe's West-Eastern Divan." The word Divan (دیوان) in Persian means "A collection of miscellaneous poems." These collections generally contain "poems in the alphabetical order of the final letters of the various ending rhymes." [2] For example, the last letter of each couplet of the first group of odes is 'alif' or 'a'; then the last letter of each couplet of the second group is 'bê' or 'b'; and so on. The Divan of the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz, who as we will see later on, suggested to Goethe the idea of his Divan, serves as an illustration of this arrangement of the odes.

The Buch des Parsen, *i.e.*, the Book of the Parsees, which forms the subject of this paper, is a part of Goethe's "West-Östlicher Divan," *i.e.*, the West-Eastern Divan. Of the twelve parts or books of the Divan, it forms the 11th part or book. As far as I know, all of Goethe's German works are not translated into English. The Divan is one of such untranslated books. [3]

On reading the above article, my knowledge of German having got all rusty, I had requested my friend, Father Noti of St. Xavier's College, to kindly translate for me the Buch des Parsen. On resuming my study of the subject recently, I found that Goethe had, in his "Noten und Abhandlungen" (Notes and Discussions), in connection with his "West-Östlicher Divan," written, under the head of "Aeltere Perser" (Old Persians), [4] some notes on the ancient Persians. Father Hömel has, at my request, kindly translated it for me. I give both

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[1] Vol. XCIV, pp. 23-42. [2] Dr. Steingass's Persian-English Dictionary.

[3] It forms the 14th Volume of the Stuttgart Edition (1867) of Goethe's Works in our Library.

[4] Goethe's Worke Vierzehuter Band (14th Volume), Stuttgart Edition (1867), pp. 138-41.

these translations at the end of this paper, hoping that they will help some students interested in the subject. I beg to tender here my best thanks to Father Noti and Father Hömel for their kindness to translate the poem and notes for me.

Goethe speaks of his Parsi-nameh as "Vermächtniss altpersischen Glaubens", *i.e.*, "The Testament of the old Persian faith." He places his views in the mouth of a poor but pious man, who, on the approach of death, says a few words of advice to some young men who had nursed him and honoured him.

I propose to deal, in this Paper, with the following subjects in connection with Goethe's Parsi-nâmeh :—

1. An outline of Goethe's Life and a few traits of his character, to enable us to understand well the circumstances which led the German poet to write on an Iranian subject.

2. A short account of his West-Eastern Divan, of the twelve books of which the Parsi-nâmeh forms the eleventh book.

3. An account of his Parsi-nâmeh, with a few observations on the most salient points of the book.

4. Translations into English of Goethe's Buch des Parsen and of his Notes on the Ancient Persians.

II.

1. A SHORT OUTLINE OF GOETHE'S LIFE.

To understand Goethe's poems well, his life must be known.

To properly understand the time and the circumstances under which Goethe wrote his Divan, and in it the Parsi-nâmeh, one must know, at least, a short outline of his life. One of his biographers, Mr. Oscar Browning thus speaks on the subject: "Goethe differs from all other great writers, except perhaps Milton, in this respect, that his works cannot be understood without a knowledge of his life, and that his life is in itself a work of art, greater than any work which it created. This renders a long and circumstantial biography a necessity to all who would study the poet seriously. . . . . He is not only the greatest poet of Germany; he is one of the greatest poets of all ages. . . . . He was the apostle of self-culture . . . . . and taught both by precept and example the husbandry of the soul . . . . . As Homer concentrated in himself the spirit of Antiquity, Dante of the Middle Ages, and Shakespeare of the Renaissance, so Goethe is the represen-

tative of the modern spirit, the prophet of mankind: under new circumstances and new conditions, the appointed teacher of ages yet unborn. [1]

Early Life and Influence of French Culture.

Johnan Wolfgang von Goethe was born [2] in Frankfort on 28th August 1749. He was the only son of his parents, who both formed a religiously inclined pair. His father had received the title of Imperial Councillor in 1742, at the age of 32. At first, Goethe was instructed at home by his father. French culture was much prevalent at the time. He came into great contact with it, through the soldiers of France who were at Frankfort during the Seven Years' War, in which France sided with the Empire against Frederick the Great. In 1765, at the age of 16, he went to Leipzic for further study. There he wrote several smaller poems and songs. He returned to Frankfort in 1768, at the age of 19, and remained there without any definite aim for a year and a half.

Contact with Mystic Writings.

During this period, he came into contact with Mrs. Klettenberg, a member of the Moravian school. She drew his attention to the mystical writings of the saints and to Alchemy. The latter led him to the study of science, in which he, later on, made many researches. He then went to the University of Strasburg in April 1770 and studied there till August 1771. Here, he got most of the impulses of his later more active literary life. Then, his mind was for some time diverted from a literary to a scientific line, and he studied Anatomy, Midwifery and Chemistry, especially the last. He also studied here Art, and the Cathedral of Strasburg served him as a model of Gothic architecture.

Taste for Nature.

Here, in Strasburg, he came into contact with Herder, who was 5 years older than him and who created in him a taste for Nature in Art and for the principles of the remantic school. In August 1770, he took his degree as Doctor of Law, the subject of his dissertation being "The duty of providing an established Church." He then returned to Frankfort. He now wrote several works.

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[1] Goethe: His Life and Writings, by Oscar Browning (1892), pp. 136-37.

[2] The house, in which he was born, is still to be seen in Frankfort. During my two days visit of Frankfort, in 1889, I had the pleasure of visiting his house on 21st September 1889. I have put down in my note-book, the number of his house as "No. 22 Grosser Hierschgraben". There is also his statue in Frankfort. On its four sides, his literary works are represented. On one side, is represented his Poecy—Tragedy and Comedy; on another, his Faust and Mephistocles; on the third, a group of five works; on the fourth, some of his other works. In the Museum of Antiquities, I saw, on a glass plate, the representation of the Persian winged Farohar with the flame of fire before it.

Thoughts of the other World.

In the spring of 1772, he left Frankfort for Wetzlar, a quiet country town and one of the seats of the Holy Roman Empire. The Emperors held their Courts of Justice there. Here, he contracted the friendship of Lotte (Charlotte), the second daughter of one Herr Buff. At one time, Lotte spoke to him of the other world and of the possibility of returning from it. It was arranged between them that whoever "died first, should, if he could, give information to the living about the conditions of the other life." [1]

His Works which laid the foundation of his Fame.

The fate of a young man named Jerusalem, whom he met at Wetzlar, and who committed suicide for failure in a hopeless passion for a married woman, suggested to Goethe the composition of the Werther. This work is said to have influenced many a lover who shot himself with a copy of Werther in his hand. Werther and Götz were the two works of Goethe which laid the foundation of Goethe's fame. Götz was a name of the chivalrous age which he had assumed in play with other literary friends discussing old chivalrous subjects. The assumption of that name gradually led him to write that work. Götz was published in 1773 and Werther in 1774. While writing such works Goethe also practised as an advocate at the Court at Wetzlar. At this time, he conceived the idea of writing Cæsar, Faust, Mahomet, the Wandering Jew and Promotheus. To write the drama of Mahomet, he studied the Koran.

Tendency of the Time. From French to German Culture.

At the special invitation of the Duke of Weimar, who had passed through Frankfort, Goethe went to Weimar in November 1775. Before the Seven Years' War, all the German princes looked to France for culture. But now, they "were beginning to take an interest in German literature." [2] Most of them had literary men of genius in their courts. So, the Duke of Weimar had Goethe who "rose like a star." [3] Weimer was known at the time as the German Athens. The Duke invested him with the title.....of Geheimlegationsrath (Secret Legation Councillor), with a seat and voice in the privy council, and an income of £180 a year.....Goethe devoted himself with industry and enthusiasm to the public business.[4] The first ten years at Weimar were interrupted now and then by long journeys, one of which was to Switzerland in 1779. Goethe was the principal adviser of the Duke of Weimar, who, in 1785, formed

[1] Life and Works of Goethe by Lewis, Vol. I, p. 183.
[2] "Goethe: His Life and Writings", by Oscar Browning, p. 56.
[3] Ibid., p. 60. [4] Ibid., p. 62-63.

the Fürstenbund or league of princes, under the supremacy of Frederick the Great, to resist the ambition of Austria under Joseph II.[1] He thus took an interest in the question of the independence of Germany.

A longing to possess his Soul in peace.

The year 1786 was very important for him. He saw that the work and the pleasures of the Court of Weimar, where he had spent 10 years, had kept him away from his literary pursuits and from his study of art and science. Many of his literary compositions had remained unfinished. His study of science was kept off. It is said of his scientific studies that he had a glimpse of Darwinism before Darwin. "He succeeded in seeing, as in a vision, the great scheme of evolution applied to all phenomena of the natural and moral world."[2] So, to pursue quietly for some time, all his favourite studies, and to satisfy "his longing to possess his soul in peace,"[3] he journeyed in Italy from September 1786 to June 1788. He travelled *incognito* under the name of Müller. He returned to Weimar in June 1788, a new man, *i.e.*, a man with a new idea about art, *viz.*, that, not only the work of art must be solid, firm and simple, but "that life itself should be a work of art."[4] He resolved to be free from "the distractions which had hitherto confused him".

His half-marriage.

In 1788, he entered into, what is called a "half-marriage" with Christiane Vulpius, a healthy blooming young girl, who first presented herself before him with a petition seeking some favour for her brother. Her simple beautiful features attracted Goethe. He took her home and made her his housewife. Several reasons are assigned, why he remained in an improper laison with her and did not marry her, one being her low position in life. A son was born to him of this girl. About 15 years after the first laison, he thought it advisable to marry her. The first half-marriage and the second legal marriage both were subjects of scandalous talk in the country and threw a slur upon the conduct of this great poet.

Goethe and Schiller.

In 1792 and 1793, Goethe went with his master, the Duke of Weimar, to war. During the intervals of fight he pursued his favourite study of Optics and of the various branches of Natural Science. In the Autumn of 1793, the Duke left the Prussian service. Goethe, now being free, took to the management of the theatre for which he now wrote several pieces. He now contracted the friendship of Schiller,

[1] Ibid., p. 71. [2] Ibid., p. 75.
[3] Ibid., p. 78. [4] Ibid., p. 86.

who was younger than him by about 10 years. Their friendship inspired both of them mutually. Schiller's influence led Goethe to finish his Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre. The death of Schiller in 1805 upset Goethe for a time.

In 1806 was fought the great battle of Jena. Weimar was plundered. Goethe's friends lost everything. Goethe's property was saved by the firmness of his wife. Napoleon entered the town but Goethe did not go to see him. Then it was in 1808, that Napoleon, the military dictator, saw Goethe, the literary dictator of the time, at Erfurt, where the sovereigns and princes of Europe met in a Congress.

Napoleon's Estimate of Goethe.

In October 1808, Goethe, at the express desire of Napoleon, had an interview with him, when he (Napoleon) went to Weimar to attend the conference of princes. When Goethe entered, Napoleon welcomed him with the words "Vous êtes un homme!" When he left, Napoleon said to his courtiers "Voilá un homme."[1] Goethe was bold in the expression of his view, as in the case of his defence of Giordano Bruno. So, he liked Napoleon's appreciation of him. He speaks of his words as "the wonderful words with which the Emperor received me."[2] As his biographer says "Goethe could not ask anything more than the recognition contained in these words, coming from such a mouth. He declared, too, that 'Napoleon had put the dot above the i (of his life).'"[3] It is said of that cynic philosopher Dionysius, that at midday, he went about with a lamp. When somebody asked him, why he went out with a lamp during daylight, he said, he went out in search of a "man," meaning thereby, that he found none whom he could really call a "man." When we remember this pretty anecdote, we see the full force and meaning of the words of Napoleon, calling Goethe a "man."

The growth of the habit of contemplation.

The year 1809 was an important one for Goethe, because, he then, as it were, began a new era. The troubled period—a period of nearly 10 years—of sorrow, owing to the wars and other circumstances, was over. Many were the causes of the sorrows of these ten years, the principal of which were the following :—1 The death of his dear friend, Schiller, on hearing the news of which he is said to have wept bitterly ; 2 the plunder of his town of Weimar ; 3 the death of Duchess Amolia, a great admirer and friend of Goethe ; 4 the death of his mother ; and 5 his own illness.

[1] The Life of Goethe by A. Bielschowsky, translated by W. A. Cooper. Vol. II., p. 411 Life and Works of Goethe by Lewis, Vol. II, pp. 366-67.
[2] Ibid., Bielschowsky. Vol. II, p. 453, note 77. [3] Ibid., p. 414.

He now wrote an autobiographical account of his early life under the title of Dichtung und Wahrheit (Poetry and Truth). His biographers think, that it is not a faithful account. The last part of it appeared in 1814. During this time, the Germans were uniting and rising to overthrow the power of Napoleon. Goethe took no part in the movement. The reason for this coldness was his "natural indifference to the details of human affairs",[1] as shown by the fact, that even in the midst of weighty affairs like war and court business, he flew to his studies. Again, he "was a man of thought rather than of action". He thought Napoleon to be "the greatest living depository of power." [2]

Now the habit of contemplation begun to grow upon him more and more. So, in 1814, at the age of 65, he struck, as it were, a new line of poetical activity. In 1812, he first saw Hammer's translation of Hafiz. On the death, in June 1828, of the Grand Duke, Karl August, a life-long companion from the time of his youth, he is said to have uttered the words "Now it is all over". He died in 1832.

III.

A FEW TRAITS OF HIS CHARACTER.

Contemplative and meditative habit.

In the above short outline of his life, we have referred to the principal events of his life. But some of the traits of his character require to be specially referred to. It is said, that he began to grow up, as a boy of observing habits, which gave him a contemplative or meditative bent of mind. The great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755 is reported to have killed about 60,000 men. This natural phenomenon and the Seven Years' War made him more contemplative in his boyhood. "From Nature to Nature's God," was the bent of his early life. He was, at first, a little inclined to mysticism, and his association, at an early age of about 20, with Klettenberg, a lady, who was a mystic, led him a little further towards mysticism. He was more inclined to pantheism in his belief.

Goethe's early tendency towards Nature-worship.

According to his biographer, G. H. Lewis,[3] Tacitus noticed, that a kind of Nature-worship was, as it were, a "natural tendency" of the ancient Germans. Goethe was, from his early years, inclined towards this natural tendency. As early as in 1770, Goethe defended M. Giordano Bruno, who was burnt in 1600 for declaring that the earth moved, a teaching which the Christian Church at the time had declared to be heretical. Giordano Bruto was a student of Nature, and this study had led him to a kind of pantheism—a monotheistic

[1] Goethe by Oscar Browning, p. 124. [2] Ibid., p. 125.
[3] Life and Work of Goethe Vol. I., p. 100.

pantheism which one observes in the East. As said by Goethe's biographer Mr. G. H. Lewis, "Pantheism, which captivates poetical minds, has a poetical grandeur in the form given to it by Bruno which would have allured Goethe had his tendencies not already lain in that direction." Bayle criticised this pantheism of Bruno, and Goethe said against this criticism : "Je ne suis pas du sentiment de M. Bayle à l'égard de Jor. Brunus, et je ne trouve ni d'impiété ni d'absurdité dans les passages qu'il cite."[1]

Goethe's view of Pantheism.

In the above references to the views of Goethe, we saw, that he was pantheistic in his belief. However, it seems that his pantheism was not of any gross character. It was not a pantheism opposed to monotheism. As Dr. Ketkar has, while speaking of Hinduism, said, "Monotheism and pantheism should be regarded as synonims, and pantheism is the only possible form of any consistent monotheism."[2] This pantheism, taking it to be synonimous with monotheism, was the result of the mind soaring from Nature to Nature's God. Goethe himself thus presents his view on the subject : "To discuss God apart from Nature is both difficult and perilous ; it is as if we separated the soul from the body. We know the soul only through the medium of the body, and God only through Nature. Hence the absurdity, as it appears to me, of accusing those of absurdity who philosophically have united God with the world. For everything which exists, necessarily pertains to the essence of God, because God is the one Being whose existence includes all things. Nor does the Holy Scripture contradict this, although we differently interpret its dogmas each according to his views. All antiquity thought it in the same way ; an unanimity which to me has great significance. To me the judgment of so many men speaks highly for the rationality of the doctrine of emanation."[3]

This view of Nature corresponded to the view of the East, more especially of India. So, we see, that from an early age, he was, as it were, inclined to the philosophic views of life held by the East.

How he carried the mind from Nature to Nature's God.

In his Memoirs, written by himself, while describing his portraiture of Mahomet in a hymn which he had once composed, he gives us an idea of his views as how to rise from Nature to Nature's God. He says :

"The scene is supposed to represent a bright and serene night. Mahomet salutes the multitude of

[1] Ibid., pp. 101-102.

[2] Dr. Shridhar v. Ketkar's "Essay on Hinduism, its formation and future", quoted in the Academy of 15th June 1912, p. 749.

[3] Life and Works of Goethe by G. Lewis, Vol. I, pp. 102-3, Bk. II.

stars as so many divinities. To the propitious planet Gad (our Jupiter), then rising above the horizon, he pays special homage as the king of all the stars. The moon next appears, and captivates for a while the eyes and the heart of the pious adorer of Nature. Presently the brilliant rising of the sun excites him to renewed homage. But the aspect of the heavenly bodies, notwithstanding the satisfaction with which they inspire him, leaves his heart a prey to desire. He feels that there is still something greater; and his soul is elevated to the contemplation of the only, eternal, and infinite God, to whom all things owe their existence. I had composed this hymn with the deepest enthusiasm." [1]

It was such a view of grand Nature that led him to look with reverence to the Sun.

IV.

2. HIS WEST-OSTLICHE DIVAN.

Having given an outline of his life and having spoken of some of the traits of his mind, we now come to the subject of his West-Eastern Divan.

His attraction towards the East.

Goethe was drawn towards the East, as said above, long before he wrote the Divan. In his autobiography, while speaking of Mademoiselle Von Klettenberg, he refers to the Missionaries, and says: "I happened to advocate the people whom they sought to convert, and to declare that I preferred the primitive state of those ignorant nations to that to which they had been brought." [2]

Goethe's view of the work of Prophets and great men.

Again, as referred to in our account of his life, he was drawn to the East by his study of the Koran for his book on Mahomet. He had studied the life of this great Mahomedan prophet. While speaking of him and while defending his character and personality, he thus speaks on the work of great prophets :—

"I perfectly understood how a man of superior genius should desire to turn to the advantage of his fellow-creatures, the divine faculties which he is conscious he possesses. But, having to do with men of grosser

[1] "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II., pp. 113-14.

[2] "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II, pp. 117-18.

intellects, he is compelled, in order to secure their friendship, to lower himself to their level; and this necessity degrades his eminent qualities by assimilating him to his inferiors. Thus the celestial powers of genius are depreciated by an amalgamation with worldly speculations; and views directed to eternity, lose their sublimity, and become narrowed by their application to ephemeral objects. . . . . I found that history presented situations completely similar. It was thus that I conceived the idea of borrowing, from the series of events which compose the life of Mahomet, the groundwork of a dramatic representation of those bold enterprises so forcibly presented to my mind; and which, though determined by noble feelings, too frequently end in crime." [1]

Goethe's views of Indian Mythology.

One of Goethe's biographers has said, that when Goethe turned to the East, for a kind of diversion and tranquillity or peace of mind, India did not appeal to him so much as Persia did, because he found it "too monstrous a jumble." Goethe, after referring to the Scandinavian Edda, which contains a reference to the story of Zoroaster laughing at his birth, as said by Pliny, thus gives his views of the Indian Mythology:

"A similar kind of interest attached me to the Indian fables, with which I began to get acquainted by means of Dapper's Voyage, and which I added to my mythological stores with pleasure. The altar of Ram became the ornament of my tales; and, notwithstanding the incredible multiplicity of the personages, of these fables, the ape Hanneman was the favourite of my auditory. But I found all these monstrous personages unfit to form part of my poetical furniture; the imagination being either unable to conceive them at all, or only able to comprehend them under absurd and ridiculous forms." [2]

The times and the circumstances under which the West-Östliche Divan was written.

Goethe wrote his West-Östliche Divan during the sunset of his life, when he was in his 65th year. It was the political storm in Europe that drove him to the harbour of peace and tranquillity in Asia. As his biographer [3] says: "During the storms of war, Goethe had more and more withdrawn, in spirit, from the European world and taken refuge in the original abode of man in Asia, in order in those far-off regions to restore that serene harmony of his being which had been disturbed by the

[1] "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself Vol. II, pp. 112-13.

[2] "Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. I, pp. 435-7.

[3] Dr. Beilschowsky, translated by W. A. Cooper, Vol. III, p. 1.

discordent notes of the restless age. It was only natural that the trend of events should turn the eyes of all to the Orient . . . . . Goethe participated in this general movement . . . . . China and India could not hold his attention ; China was too barren, India too monstrous a jumble. Persia, on the other hand, tempted him to linger. He became acquainted with the culture of this country through its most congenial representative, Hafiz, the celebrated poet of the fourteenth century. Hammer's translation of Hafiz's collection of songs, the Divan, had appeared in 1812 and 1813, and Goethe needed but to read the introduction to this work to be most strongly attracted by the life and writings of his Oriental brother."

In one place in his Memoirs, he says :

" For some years past the events of my life having compelled me to call my own powers into action, I devoted myself with ardent zeal and unremitting activity to the cultivation of my mental faculties. . . . My mind was wholly directed to Nature, who appeared to me in all her magnificence. . . . I accordingly formed a religion after my own mind." [1]

Why the Divan was named West-Östliche.

He named his Divan the West-Eastern Divan, because, taking the imagery from the East, he had planted therein his own Western views. " He made the first attempt to transplant Eastern poetry to a German soil." [2]

Just as the success of Firdousi in Persia in writing his Shah-nâmeh, an epic based on ancient historical traditions of Persia, led many other Persian poets to write many *nameks* or books on the line of his Shah-nameh, Goethe's success in Germany in writing on Eastern subjects is said to have led other German writers like Rückert (1788-1866), Platen (1796-1835), and Heine (1799-1856), to write on Eastern subjects. Rückert, who was a Professor of Oriental languages, and is said to have known 30 languages and who was a translator of Oriental poems, had, following Goethe, named one of his poems, Östliche Rosen (1823), *i.e.*, " Eastern Roses". His " Rostem und Suhrab eine Heldengeschichte " (Rustam und Sohrab, an epic or heroic story) is based on a Persian episode. As said by another biographer, who calls Goethe, " the German Hafiz ", [3] it was not only the Oriental works of Von Hammer, but works of other Oriental scholars also that

[1] " Memoirs of Goethe," written by himself (1824), Vol. II, p. 121.

[2] Goethe : " His Life and Writings," by Oscar Browning (1892), p. 126.

[3] The Life and Works of Goethe by Lewis, Vol. II, p. 398.

had influenced Goethe. Mr. Lewis names (Silvestre) De Sacy.[1] I think that the name of that distinguished French traveller and scholar, Anquetil Du Perron, who had visited India in 1755-61 and who had then published his translation of the Zend Avesta of the Parsees in 1771, may be added as the name of one who had very likely influenced Goethe in his work of the "Buch des Parsen." Dr. Thomas Hyde, the author of "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum" also seems to have influenced him.

Goethe and Hafiz.

Goethe, in his West-Eastern Divan was chiefly inspired by Hafiz. Oscar Browning thus speaks on the subject: "At a time when North and South and West were splitting in sunder, when thrones were breaking up and empires trembling, he sought a willing refuge in the restoring fountain of the Eastern poet[1]." These two poets had, as pointed out by his biographer, many traits in common. Dr. Bielschowsky says [2]:

"The bard of Shiraz seemed the very image of himself. Had he himself, perchance, lived once before upon the earth in the form of the Persian? Here was the same joy of earth and love of heaven, the same simplicity and depth, truthfulness and straightforwardness, warmth and passionateness, and, finally, the same openness of heart towards everything human and the same receptive mind free from institutional limitations. Did not the same thing apply to him that the Persians said of their poet, when they called him 'the mystic tongue' and 'the interpreter of mysteries', and when they said of his poems that to outward appearance they were simple and unadorned, but that they had a deep, truth-fathoming significance and highest perfection of form? And had not Hafiz, like him, enjoyed the favour of the humble and the great? Had he not also conquered a conqueror, the mighty Timur? And had he not out of the destruction and ruin saved his own serenity, and continued to sing peacefully as before under the old accustomed conditions?"

"Thus Goethe found in Hafiz a beloved brother of a former age, and, gladly treading in the footsteps of his Oriental kinsman, produced, to compete with the Eastern Divan, one in the West, which had to be styled West-eastern, as the Western poet blended the ideas and forms of the East with those of the West, and boldly assumed the mask of the Persian singer without sacrificing an iota of his own profound personality."

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[1] Goethe: His Life and Writings, p. 126.

[2] "The Life of Goethe," translated by W. A. Cooper, Vol. III, p. 3.

The Twelve Books of the West-Östlicher Divan.

Goethe's West-Eastern Divan consists of the following twelve books, and of these, the Book of the Parsees forms the 11th book :—

1. Buch des Sängers, *i.e.*, the Book of Singers.
2. Buch Hafis, *i.e.*, the Book of Hafiz.
3. Buch der Liebe, *i.e.*, the Book of Love.
4. Buch der Betrachtungen, *i.e.*, the Book of Contemplation.
5. Buch des Unmuths, *i.e.*, the Book of Sadness.
6. Buch der Sprüche, *i.e.*, the Book of Proverbs.
7. Buch des Timur, *i.e.*, the Book of Timur.
8. Buch Suleika, *i.e.*, the Book of Zulikha.
9. Das Schenkenbuch, *i.e.*, the Book of the Cup-bearer.
10. Buch der Parabeln, *i.e.*, Book of Parables.
11. Buch des Parsen, *i.e.*, the Book of the Parsees.
12. Buch des Paradieses *i.e.*, the Book of Paradise.

Oriental names of the 12 books of the Divan.

Goethe has given Oriental names to all the above 12 books of his Divans. He has called the books "Nâmeh" which is the Persian word for a book (نامہ). He has called the first book "Moganni-nâmeh" and has given "Buch des Sängers," *i.e.*, the "Book of Singers," as its German equivalent. He has taken this name from a long ode[1] or rather a booklet of Hafiz, called Mughanni-nâmeh (مغنّي نامہ). In fact, this booklet of Hafiz which gives its name to the first book of Goethe's Divan, gives some names and makes several allusions which remind us of the ancient Persians or Parsees. Therein, we find allusions to the Turânian King Afrâsiâb, his son Shideh and his minister Pirân[2], the hereditary enemies of Iran, and to Salim and Tur, the sons of the Irânian King Faridun. Therein, we also find a reference to the Zindehrud (couplet 22, زنده رود) referred to by Goethe.

The second book, Hafis Nameh, has Buch Hafis, as its German name. The word hâfiz (حافظ) in Persian, means one who learns his Koran well by heart. This was the poetical name of the Persian poet.

[1] Ode 687 in Col. Wilberforce Clarke's Translation of Hafiz. Vol. II, p. 993.

[2] Col Clarke is wrong in saying that he was a great general of Irân (*Ibid*, p. 996 note). He was the great Minister and General of Turân.

The third book, "Buch der Liebe," *i.e.*, the "Book of Love," must be Ishq or Ashq-nameh and not Ushk-nameh as Goethe has termed it. The Persian word for Love is Ishq (عشق).

The fourth book, "Buch der Betrachtungen," *i.e.*, the "Book of Contemplation," is named Tefkir-nameh. The word is Arabic Tafkir (تفكير) meaning "reflection, consideration."

The fifth book, "Buch des Unmuths," or "Book of Sadness", is entitled Rendseh-nameh, which properly speaking is Ranj-nameh, (رنج نامه) *i.e.*, the "Book of Troubles."

The sixth book, "Buch der Sprüche" or the "Book of Sayings or Proverbs" is named Hikmet-nameh (حكمت نامه) *i.e.*, the book of wise sayings.

The seventh book, "Buch des Timur" or the "Book of Timur" has taken its name from Timur or Timurlane, who had, at one time devastated Asia. It is suggested that in the character of Timur, Goethe had, before his mind, Napoleon, the Timur of the West of his time.[1]

The eighth book, "Suleika-nameh" or the "Book of Zuleika", has taken its name from the well-known eastern female character of Zulikha, who has been the subject of the song of several Eastern poets. The story of Yousaph and Zulikha is as much known in the East as that of Romeo and Juliet in the West. In Zulikha, he had in his mind Marianne vom Willemer, the newly married wife of his old friend Willemer, under whose influence he had fallen in his old age.

The ninth book, "Das Schenkenbuch," *i.e.*, the "Book of the Cupbearer", is named Saki-nameh. Goethe has taken this name from a long ode or rather a booklet of verses of Hafiz himself. This booklet[2] is named Saki-nameh (ساقي نامه). Therein, every alternate couplet begins with the word Sâki (*i.e.*, O Cupbearer!). This poem of Hafiz has, in the very beginning, an allusion to Zardusht زردشت or Zoroaster and his sacred fire. It has also several allusions to eminent kings and personages of ancient Irân, like King Jamshed, Tahamtan (Rustam) and his celeberated horse the Rakhsh, Minocheher, Buzurj Meher, Noshirwan, Kai Kâus, Kai Kobâd, Dârâ and Kai Ḳhusru.

[1] Goethe: His Life and Writings by Oscar Browning (1892), p. 126.

[2] It forms Ode No. 686 in Col. Wilberforce Clarke's Translation.

The tenth book, "Buch der Parabeln" or the "Book of Parables", is entitled Mathal-nameh (Masal-nameh مثل نامہ) from the Arabic word *masal* which means, a fable, adage or parable.

The eleventh book, which is the subject proper of this Paper, is "Buch des Parsen" or the "Book of the Parsees." It is entitled Parsi-nameh. Lewis translates the words "Buch des Parsen", by "Book of the Persians."[1] But Prof. Dowden translates them by "Book of the Parsees."[2] There are several reasons why the latter rendering is preferable. Firstly, the proper German word for 'Persian' would be 'Perser' and not Parsi. The word 'Parsi' is rendered into German dictionaries by 'Parsee.' Secondly, the contents of the book shew, that Goethe does not speak in this poem of the modern Persians. Of course, as one would naturally be led to think from the fact of the Divan of the modern Persian poet Hafiz having led him to write his Divan, that Goethe speaks of the modern Persians or Persians in general. But that is not the case. He speaks of the ancient Persians, the ancestors of the modern Persians. And thirdly, Goethe heads his poem in the very beginning as "Vermächtniss altpersischen Glaubens," *i.e.*, "the Last Will of the Old Persian Religion."

The twelfth or the last book, "Buch des Paradieses", *i.e.*, the "Book of Paradise", is entitled "Chuld-nameh." It is Persian Khuld-nameh (خلد نامہ). The first part of the name is Arabic (خلد) *khuld*, meaning eternity, paradise. The word 'paradiese' in the German name of the book (English paradyse, Fr. paradis) is *firdous* (فردوس) in Persian, meaning a garden, a vineyard, paradise.[3] It is originally an Avestan word pairi-daêza (𐬯𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬯𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀) meaning lit. "an enclosed place." It is one of the four Avesta or old Iranian words that have entered into the old Hebrew of the Bible.

The feeling, breathing in the Divan.

Sarah Austin thus sums up the feeling, breathing through the Divan. "Through all the songs of the Divan breathes the untroubled feeling of an unexpected reconcilement with Life, and a cheerful acquiescence in the conditions of our being. The period of time within which this collection of lyrical matter had birth is shown in the opening song. It is the period in which all was wreck and confusion;

[1] Life and Works of Goethe by G. H. Lewis, Vol. II, p. 399.

[2] *Contemporary Review* of July 1808, Vol. XCIV, p. 4.

[3] Firdousi, the Homer of the East, derives his name from this word, Firdous.

thrones were overthrown, and nations panic-stricken. And now, when all seemed gloom and despair, the poet had fought through the fight with himself and the outer world; he had gained the power to penetrate with cheerful courage into the deep origin of things in which men still received heavenly wisdom from God in earthly language, and did not distract their heads. The poet, become one with himself and with the world, stands firm against all outward shocks, and is no wise disheartened by them . . . . The poet stands isolated and self-dependant. This, which had at first given Goethe such intense pain, has now lost its bitterness. He is become like one of those happy sages of the east, whose unclouded brightness and serenity of soul nothing temporal could disturb; who find their country everywhere, because peace and content reign in their own bosoms." [1]

Goethe's other biographer also says a similar thing: "The *West-Östliche* Divan was a refuge from the troubles of the time. Instead of making himself unhappy with the politics of Europe, he made himself happy studying the history and poetry of the East. He even began to study the Oriental languages, and was delighted to be able to copy the Arabic manuscripts in their peculiar characters . . . This forms the peculiarity of the Divan—it is West-Eastern; the images are Eastern; the feeling is Western . . . In this Eastern world we recognize the Western poet." [2]

V.

3. HIS PARSI-NAMEH.

The Contents of the Parsi-nameh.

Coming to the Parsi-nâmeh itself, before examining it a little in details, I will here briefly sum up its contents in the words of Prof. Dowden [3]: "The Book of the Parsees is mainly occupied with the noble 'Legacy of the old Persian faith,' uttered to his disciples by a poor and pious brother now about to depart from earth. The worship of the Sun and of fire, seemingly so abstracted, is regarded by Goethe as profoundly practical. The dying saint enthusiastically aspires towards the light, but his lesson for his brethren is wholly concerned with conduct;—'daily fulfilment of hard services'—such is his legacy in a word; their part it will be to keep pure, as far as human effort can, the soul, the air,

[1] Characteristics of Goethe, from the German of Falk, von Müller, &c. (Conversations-Lexicon, and Supplement) by Sarah Austin (1833), Vol. II, pp. 241-43.

[2] Life and Works of Goethe by G. H. Lewis, Vol. II., p. 398.

[3] His article on "Goethe's West-Eastern Divan" in the *Contemporary Review* of July 1908, Vol. 94, p. 41.

the water of the canal, and their own hearts and lives through devoted service, in order that these may be worthy to receive the divine and vivifying rays of the Sun. And, as the Sun rises above the peaks of the Darnawend, the old man's spirit ascends from earth to be gathered from gyre to gyre of the heavens."

Goethe's Buch des Parsen or Parsi-nameh, to be properly understood, must be read with his Noten und Abhandlungen (Notes and Discussions). When we read both, together or side by side, we find that the subjects treated in the Parsi-nameh can be grouped under a few principal heads. These are :—

1. Veneration for the Sun, of which fire-veneration is a part or substitute.
2. Purity or cleanliness, both physical and mental or moral.
3. Daily fulfilment of hard services.

Veneration for the Sun.

The first and the most important subject is the reverence paid to the Sun by the Parsees, of which the veneration for fire is, according to Goethe, a subsidiary part.

He says, at first, that the splendour of a king, decked with gold and adorned with gems, is nothing before the splendour of the rising Sun illuminating the many peaks of the Darnawend. [1] One cannot help looking at and admiring the grand spectacle. One's thoughts on such a sight are led to God, the fountain of life, and to seek His way in His light. The physical light leads him to thoughts of moral light.

Goethe's justification of the Veneration for the Sun.

In his Notes and Discussions, Goethe thus justifies, the Parsees' reverence for the Sun and the other luminaries. He says: "Gazing at Nature formed the basis of the worship of the ancient Parsees. Whilst adoring the Creator, they turned toward the rising Sun, as the most strikingly glorious phenomenon. They fancied they saw their God's throne, surrounded by brilliant angels. The pomp

[1] Darnawend is the mountain near modern Tehran, known as the Demavend. It is variously written in the Phalvi books. In the grand Bundehesh it is written Dubahvand (*a*) Dbahvand (*b*) Dumbahvand (*c*).

a. Ervard Tehmuras's text, published by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet, p. 80, l. 2, ; p. 88, l. 11, S. B. E., Vol. V., Chap. XII, 29, 31.

b. Ibid., p. 80, l. 6.

c. Ibid., p. 198, l. 8.

of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child, the baptism of fire [1] was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long, the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night; they too were out of reach belonging to the realms of the endless. Fire, on the contrary, walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite. Nothing is cleaner than a bright sunrise, and such was to be the cleanliness with which fires were to be kindled and kept, if they were to be and to remain sacred and sunlike."

From Nature to Nature's God is a principle upon which Zoroastrian teachings about worship are principally based. Nature is the grand manifestation of God. If a Zoroastrian is asked about the evidences of the Existence of God, his reply should be that the principal evidence is, what is now spoken of as, the "Argument from Design." Chapter 44 of the Yaçna serves as an instance. A Parsee's prayer, now named, *char disa ni namaj* (ચારે દીસાની નેમાજ), *i.e.*, obeisance in all four directions, in reciting which four times, he turns each time to all the four directions, East, South, West and North, beginning with the East and ending with the North, shews his faith, that he believes in the omnipresence of God, in his attractive presence in the great objects of Nature, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, &c.

A similar justification by a modern traveller.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the great American millionaire, when he was once in Bombay, on seeing a Parsee pray before the Sun and the great sea at Back Bay, thus spoke of what Goethe calls the "elevating worship of the Parsis": "Fire was there in its grandest form, the setting Sun, and water in the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean outstretched before them. The earth was under their feet, and wafted across the sea; the air came laden with the perfumes of 'Araby the blest.' Surely no time or place could be more fitly chosen than this for lifting up the soul to the realms beyond sense. I could not but participate with these worshippers in what was so grandly beautiful. There was no music save the solemn moan of the waves as they broke into foam on the beach. But where shall we find so mighty an organ, or so grand an anthem?

[1] Vide the Sad-dar which speaks of kindling a lamp or fire on the birth of a child.

"How inexpressibly sublime the scene appeared to me, and how insignificant and unworthy of the unknown seemed even our cathedrals 'made with human hands,' when compared with this looking up through Nature unto Nature's God! I stood and drank in the serene happiness which seemed to fill the air." [1]

A similar justification by Akbar.

Goethe's comparison of the splendour of a king with that of the great luminary reminds us of King Akbar's view, expressed by his great minister Abul 'l Fazal in his Akbar-nameh. He says:

"His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light; surely, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire-worship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of 'the select' is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element, which is the source of man's existence and of duration of his life; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

"How beautifully has Shaik Sharaf-ud-din Munyari said: 'What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the Sun is down?' Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the Sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the Sun is the torch of God's sovereignty". [2]

The tone of justification for the veneration paid to the Sun, adopted here by Abul Fazl, in the words, "If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute, etc.," reminds us of a similar tone of justification used in the Avesta in the Khurshed Nyâish and Kurshed Yasht (the invocation in honor of the Sun) and implied in the words "Should the Sun not rise up, then the Daevas would destroy all things, etc." [3]

With regard to the baptism of fire to the new-born child, referred to by Goethe, one may refer to the Persian custom described in the Persian Sad-dar. It says: "When the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days; if they burn a fire it would be better." [4] Dr. Thomas Hyde, in his "Veterum Persarum

[1] As quoted by S. Lang in his "Modern Zoroastrian," p. 220.

[2] The Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 48.

[3] Yt.-vi. S. B. E., Vol. XXII., p. 86.

[4] Chapter XVI 2 S. B. E. Vol. XXIV, p. 277. Text, edited by Mr. B. N. Dhâbhar, p. 15.

et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia", published in the middle of the 18th century, rests a good deal upon the Sad-dar for some parts or his version about the ancient Persians. It is possible that this work also was one of the books studied by Goethe for his materials about the ancient Persians.

Goethe's view about the Veneration for the Sun.

Before we proceed further, we would notice here, what Mr. G. H. Lewis, a biographer of Goethe, says of Goethe's views in 1813, about the practice of paying reverence to the Sun as a manifestation of God. Mr. Lewis says [1] :

"But against dogmatic teachings he opposed the fundamental rule, that all conceptions of the Deity must necessarily be *our* individual conceptions, valid for us, but not to the same extent for others. Each has his own religion ; must have it as his individual possession ; let each see that he be true to it, which is far more efficacious than trying to accommodate himself to another's . . . . .

"'I *believe* in God,' was, he said 'a beautiful and praiseworthy phrase; but to *recognize* God in all his manifestations, *that* is true holiness on earth .....' He looked upon the Four Gospels as genuine, 'for there is in them a reflection of a greatness which emanated from the person of Jesus, and which was of as divine a kind as was ever seen upon earth." If I am asked whether it is in my nature to pay Him devout reverence I say—certainly ! I bow before Him as the divine manifestation of the highest morality. If I am asked whether it is in my nature to reverence the Sun, I again say—certainly ! For he is likewise a manifestation of highest Being. I adore in him the light and the productive power of God; by which we all live, move, and have our being."

2. Dignity of the Elements and the Idea of Purity or Cleanliness connected with it.

With the Persian reverence for the Sun and the fire is connected the idea of what Goethe calls, "Würde der Sämmtlichen Elemente", *i.e.*, the "Dignity of all the Elements." Goethe thus speaks of this subject in his "Notes and Discussions" :

"It is, however, important to notice that the ancient Parsees did not worship fire only ; their religion is clearly based on the dignity of all elements, as manifesting God's existence and power. Hence the sacred dread to pollute water, the air, the earth. Such respect for all natural forces that surround man leads to every civic virtue. Attention, cleanliness, application are stimulated and fostered."

1. The Life and Works of Goethe (1855), Vol. II, p. 392.

What a modern writer, Mr. Samuel Lang, the author of "Modern Science and Modern Thought," says, in his "Modern Zoroastrian," is somewhat the same, as what Goethe says, about the "respect for all natural forces that surround man" leading "to every civic virtue." He says: "In this respect, however, what I have called the Zoroastrian theory of religion affords great advantages. It connects religion directly with all that is good and beautiful, not only in the higher realms of speculation and of emotion, but in the ordinary affairs of daily life. To feel the truth of what is true, the beauty of what is beautiful, is of itself a silent prayer or act of worship to the Spirit of Light; to make an honest, earnest, effort to attain this feeling is an offering or act of homage. Cleanliness of mind and body, order and propriety in conduct, civility in intercourse, and all the homely virtues of everyday life, thus acquire a higher significance, and any wilful and persistent disregard of them becomes an act of mutiny against the Power whom we have elected to serve." [1]

"The Dignity of the Elements," associated with Purity.

The dignity associated with the elements is practical. It carries with it, and conveys the idea of, Purity and Cleanliness, Order and Harmony. A beautiful Avestan maxim illustrates all that Goethe says. The maxim is: Yaozdâo mashyâi aipi zânthem vahtshtâ" [2], *i.e.*, Purity is the best thing for man, since his very birth.

Prof. Darmesteter says:—

"L'axiome 'cleanliness is next to godliness' serait tout à fait Zoroastrien, avec cette différence que dans le Zoroastrisme 'Cleanliness' est une forme même de 'godliness'." [3]

The custom of the Disposal of the Dead, connected with the idea of the Purity of Elements.

In the advice of Goethe's testator in the Parsi-nameh, "Let the dead be given to the living," we find a reference to the Parsee mode of the disposal of the dead. One must bear in mind, that the Parsee custom enjoins both, exposure to the Sun and exposure to the flesh-devouring animals. Thus, this custom accords with what Goethe says of the Iranian view of the Sun and Purity. The custom is looked at from the point of view of sanitation and purity. Goethe himself thus speaks of the custom in his Notes and Discussions:

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1. A Modern Zoroastrian by S. Lang, pp. 223-4.

2. (Vendidad X, 18; Yaçna, XLVIII, 5).

3. L. Zend Avesta II, Introduction, p. X.

"The strange mode of disposing of their dead is due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements. The municipal police too acts on these principles: Cleanliness of the streets was a matter of religion. . . . . Owing to such living and practical worship it is likely, there should have been that incredible population to which history bears witness."

Another German scholar's view of the Iranian Idea of Purity.

The Iranian idea of purity entertained by the view of a German Scholar, Dr. Rapp, who wrote about 50 years after Goethe, is worth noting here, as it supports the view of Goethe. Dr. Rapp [1] says:

"The Iranians had a cultivated sense for purity and decency; whatever has in the slightest degree anything impure, nauseous in itself, instils into them an unconquerable horror. This has a connection in part with the fact, that the impure is mostly even unhealthy and harmful, but in several cases the cause of the impurity does not allow of being traced back to that fact. The Iranians had in a certain measure a distinct sixth sense for the pure. All of that sort has, according to their view, their origin in darkness, in obscurity; in such substances, according to their conceptions, the evil spirits dwell, and when they let such sorts to approach near to them, they thereby offer to the evil spirits admission into, and domination over themselves."

Purity of Ground.

Goethe refers to the Iranians' solicitude to keep the ground, water, and air pure. He attributes the origin of their custom of the disposal of the dead to that solicitude for not soiling the ground. He makes his testator direct, that even fields be laid out on a neatly purified ground.

To keep all ground neat and pure is one of the oft-repeated *farmans* of the Avesta. In the Vendidad, such a ground is represented as feeling pleased and delighted. In reply to Zoroaster's questions, Ahura Mazda describes at some length the different kinds of ground which feel delighted. They are the following :—

1. The piece of ground where the pious say their prayers. In other words, a place of worship is the first that feels delighted.

1. "Die Religion und sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen" (Religion and Customs of the Persians and other Iranians, according to the Greek and Roman authors). German Oriental Society's Journal, Vol. XVII, Leipzic, 1863, pp. 52-56. Translated from the German of Dr. Rapp by Mr. K. R. Cama, in his "The Zoroastrian Mode of Disposing of the Dead", p. 19.

2. The place where righteous persons live with their families in peace, piety and plenty.
3. The water-less ground when irrigated, and the moist ground when dried or reclaimed, feel delighted. The ground feels more delighted when cultivated.
4. The ground where cattle are bred.
5. The ground where cattle go for pasture and which they fertilize by their manure.

On the other hand, the following pieces of ground feel grieved :—

1. The ground of volcanic crevices which are seats of unhealthiness and disease.
2. The ground where men are buried.
3. The ground which has graves or tombs-structures over it. According to the spirit of the teachings of the Avesta, pure and simple burial—though not good in itself—is far better than burial with structures, which delay quick decomposition and prevent the bodies from being soon reduced to dust. The structures make the burial-ground, seats of diseases.
4. Uneven ground, full of holes and crevices which engender sickness.
5. The ground, whereon people lead an unrighteous life.

The following classes of persons are spoken of as those who make ground feel delightful :—

1. The man who disinters buried bodies and exposes them, and thus frees the ground from being impure and unclean.
2. The man who destroys tombs or structures over the graves and thus helps an early decomposition.

Purity of Water.

Goethe makes his testator direct, that waters of canals, streams, and rivers must have "a free course and cleanness. As Senderud [1] comes to you quite pure, from the mountain regions, so let him depart again quite.

[1] The Senderud of Goethe is the Zenderud (زنده رود) of Isphan, of which M. Barbier de Meynard, basing his work on the Modjem el-Bouldan of Yakout and other Arab and Persian writers, says: "C'est un des noms de la rivière célèbre qui passe á Ispahân et arrose plusieurs bourgs et campagnes de son territoire. C'est une grande rivière dont les eaux sont douces et fécondantes (Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Litéraire De la Perse, p. 289).

pure." He dilates a little on this subject in his notes and discussions and refers to the Iranians' "sacred dread to pollute water, the air and earth." He adds "on the one hand they would not soil a river, and on the other hand they were digging canals with careful economy of water and they kept them clean."

Both Herodotus and Strabo refer to the Iranians' scrupulous care for the cleanliness of water. Herodotus says: "They neither make water, nor spit, nor wash their hands in a river, nor defile the stream with urine, nor do they allow any one else to do so, but they pay extreme veneration to all rivers.[1]" Strabo says: "The Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash nor bathe in it; they never throw a dead body, nor anything unclean into it"[2]

The Avesta enjoined, that an Iranian should never spoil the water of rivers. Not only that, but if he saw some decomposing matter in a stream or rivulet, he should stop at once, whether he be going on foot, driving, or riding, and go into the water as far as he can and remove the filth. This injunction was latterly stretched a little too far, and applied even to salt water; and we find from Tacitus,[3] that in the time of the Roman Emperor Nero, Tiridates, a Zoroastrian king of Armenia, refused to go to Rome when summoned to that court, on the ground, that he had to cross the sea, where he would be obliged to pollute the water against the dictates of his religion.

Purity of Fire.

Goethe speaks of the religion of the Parsees as based on "the dignity of all elements," and, while speaking of their "strange mode of disposing of their dead," says that that is "due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements."

Now, one can easily understand how air, earth, and water can be kept pure, but not so easily, how fire can be kept pure. Of course, a Parsee is asked to be careful to see, that he places dry, clean, and fragrant wood over his sacred fire. That is a kind of physical purity. But in a Pahlavi writing attached to the Pahalavi Shâyast lâ Shayast,[4] fire, not only the sacred fire of the fire-temples but also the culinary fire burning in one's hearth at home, is required to be kept pure and clean. Here, it is the work of moral purity that is spoken of. Physical purity is here a symbol of moral purity. So, it

[1] Bk. I, 138, Cary's Translation (1889), p. 62.

[2] Book XV, Chap. III 16. Hamilton and Falconer's translation, Vol. III, p. 137.

[3] Works of Tacitus, Vol. I. The Annals, Book XV, p. 24. The Oxford Translation.

[4] S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 375. Shâyast lâ Shâyast, Appendix, Chap. XV, 12.

is said, that if one cooks upon the fire of his house some food that he has purchased from money dishonestly acquired, he defiles the fire, he makes it impure. Similarly, if a worshipper offers to the sacred fire of the fire-temple odoriferous wood or incense that is bought from money acquired dishonestly, he displeases the fire.

3. Daily fulfilment of hard services, resulting from the Iranian view of Order.

With purity and cleanliness, go, to a certain extent, Order, Harmony, Discipline which help one in their daily fulfilment of duty and work. Goethe makes his testator direct :—" When you plant trees let them stand in rows, for he (the Sun) gives prosperity to what is well ordered."

'Order' is one of the characteristic teachings of the Avesta. The word 'Asha' which is one of the few technical words of the Avesta that cannot be sufficiently well rendered into another language, significantly contains the idea of Order. The word Asha is Sanscrit *rita* and philologically corresponds to *right*. What is good, right or perfect in points of Order, Discipline, Purity, Harmony, Truth, Beauty, is Asha. It carries with it, the idea, not only of physical Order, but moral Order. Ahura Mazda, is the Ashoân Asho, the Most Orderly of the Orderlies.

VI.

4. PARSI-NAMEH, BOOK OF THE PARSEES.

Testament of the Old Persian Faith.

(Translated by Father Noti from the German.)

What testament, brethren, is to come to you from him who is departing, from him the poor and pious, whom you, juniors, have patiently nursed and whose last days you have honoured by your cares?

Often we have seen the king riding along, decked with gold and accompanied by gold on every side, gems being sown like dense hailstones on him and on his nobles.

Did you ever envy him for this? and did you not more nobly feed your eyes, when the Sun on morning's pinions arose in his arched course over the innumerable peaks of Darnawend?

Who could keep his eyes from looking at that spectacle? I felt, I felt a thousand times, during so many days of my life, that I was carried along with him at his coming, to recognize God on his throne and to call him the Lord of life's fountain and to act (in a way) worthy of that sublime sight and to proceed on my way in His light.

But when the fiery circle ascended and was completed, I stood as if dazed in darkness, I struck my breast and threw my limbs, front forward, down to the ground.

And now let me make a holy testament for your fraternal will and memory: the daily observance of heavy duties; no other revelation is required.

As soon as a new born child moves pious hands, let him forthwith be turned towards the Sun, let him be bathed, body and soul, in the fiery bath. He will feel every morning's grace.

Let the dead be given to the living; let even the animals be covered with rubbish and earth and let what seems to you impure, be concealed, as far as you have the power.

Let your field be laid out on a neatly purified ground, in order that the Sun may like to shine upon your industry. When you plant trees, let them stand in rows, for he (the Sun) gives prosperity to what is well ordered.

Also the water must never lack in its channels a free course and cleanness. As Senderud comes to you quite pure, from the mountain regions, so let him depart again quite pure.

That the soft fall of the water may not be weakened, take care, to dig out diligently the channels. Reeds and bulrushes, newts and salamanders, let them be destroyed, one and all.

When you have thus purified earth and water, the Sun will like to shine through airs where he is worthily received and where he produces life and salvation and welfare of life.

You, who are harassed from labour to labour, be consoled; now the universe is purified and now Man may venture, to strike the image of God out of the flint.

Take joyfully notice, where the flame is burning: clear is the night and lithe are the limbs.

On the active fires of the hearth, what is raw in the saps of plants and beasts, is made mature.

If you carry wood, do it joyfully: for you carry the seed of the earthly sun. If you pluck *Pambeh*,[1] you may confidently say: This will be made into a wick and bear the Holy.

[1] Pambeh is Persian پنبه meaning cotton or twist.

If you piously recognize in the burning of every lamp the semblance of a higher light, no mishap shall ever prevent you from adoring the throne of God in the morning.

This is the imperial seal of our existence, this is the mirror of the Deity for us and the angels, and all that but stutter the praise of the Most High, are gathered there in circles round circles.

And wish to bid good-bye to the banks of Senderud and to soar up to Darnawend to meet him rejoicing, when he comes up at dawn and to bless you from there in all eternity.

If Man values the earth, because the Sun shines on it, if he delights in the vine, which weeps at the touch of the knife, as it feels, that its juices, well-matured and world-refreshing, will become incentive to many powers, but stifling to many more : he understands, that he has to thank for this that heat which makes all this prosper; he will, when drunk, stammer and totter ; he will, when moderate, sing and rejoice.

VII.

THE ANCIENT PARSEES.

(*Translated by Father Hömel from the German.*)

Gazing at Nature formed the basis of the worship of the ancient Parsees. Whilst adoring the Creator, they turned towards the rising Sun, as the most strikingly glorious phenomenon. They fancied they saw there God's throne, surrounded by brilliant angels. The pomp of this elevating worship was daily within reach of every one, even the most lowly. The poor would step forth from his hut, the warrior from his tent, and the most religious of actions would be accomplished. To the new-born child the baptism of fire was administered in such rays, and all day long, and all life long the Parsee saw himself accompanied by the Great Luminary in all his doings. The moon and the stars were lighting up the night ; they too were out of reach belonging to the realms of the endless. Fire, on the contrary, walks by man's side, giving light and warmth to the best of its capacity. It becomes a sweet and pious duty to say prayers in presence of this substitute, to bow to what was felt as infinite. Nothing is cleaner than a bright sunrise, and such was to be the cleanliness with which fires were to be kindled and kept, if they were to be and to remain sacred and sunlike.

Zoroaster seems to have been the first to transform this noble and pure religion of Nature into an intricate worship. Mental prayer,

which includes and excludes all religions, and which penetrates the whole of life only with a few privileged minds, develops with most men only as an ardent, enrapturing feeling of the moment; but if this disappears, man is restored to himself, and being neither contented nor occupied any longer, he relapses into endless tedium.

To fill this tedium with consecrations and purifications, with walking to and fro, bowing and stooping, forms the duty and profit of the Priests; in the course of centuries, these carry their trade to endless triflings. He who is able to take a prompt survey from the primitive childlike worship of the rising Sun, to the silliness of the Guebers, as it is to be found even at the present day in India, the same will see in the former a fresh nation starting from sleep to salute the early dawn, and in the latter a backward people who try to expel common tedium by pious tedium.

It is, however, important to notice that the ancient Parsees did not worship fire only; their religion is clearly based on the dignity of all elements, as manifesting God's existence and power. Hence the sacred dread to pollute water, the air, the earth. Such respect for all natural forces that surround man leads to every civic virtue. Attention, cleanliness, application are stimulated and fostered. On this, culture of the soil was based: for, on the one hand, they would not soil a river, and, on the other hand, they were digging canals, with careful economy of water, and they kept them clean. The circulation of these canals gave rise to fertility of the soil, so that the cultivation of the realm was, at that time, ten times larger. Everything on which the Sun smiled was pursued with the utmost zeal, and more than anything else they tended the vine, the Sun's favoured child.

The strange mode of disposing of their dead is due to excessive care of not soiling the pure elements. The municipal police too acts on these principles; cleanliness of the streets was a matter of religion; and even at present, when the Guebers are expelled, banished, despised, and at most finding shelter in ill-famed slums of a suburb, it happens that a dying follower of that religion bequeaths a certain sum, in order that some street of the city may be cleansed forthwith and thoroughly. Owing to such living and practical worship, it is likely, there should have been possible that incredible population to which history bears witness.

So tender a religion, based on God's omnipresence in his visible works, cannot but have a special influence on morals. Look at its principal positive and negative commandments: Not to lie; not to

make debts ; not to be ungrateful ! The fruitfulness of these doctrines will easily be understood by every moralist and ascetical teacher. In fact the first negative commandment implies the two next, and all others ; for, they are, in fact, derived from untruthfulness and faithlessness. This is probably the reason why the devil is referred to in the East merely as the perpetual liar.

But, as this religion leads to musing, it is likely that it will lead to effeminacy, as there is indeed some trace of the womanish character in their long loose garments. There was, however, a powerful safe-guard in their manners and institutions. They used to carry arms even in times of peace and in familiar life, and they practised the use of arms in every manner possible. Most clever and fast racing was customary among them ; their games too, like the one played with clubs and balls in large play-grounds, kept them vigorous, strong and nimble ; and relentless levies of troops would transform each and every one into heroes at the beck and call of the king.

Let us turn back on their religious feelings. At first, public worship was limited to a few fires, and for this very reason it was more venerable ; then a reverend priesthood multiplied more and more, and at the same rate fires became more numerous. It lies in the nature of perpetually incompatible relations, that the closely united spiritual power should, on a given occasion, rebel against temporal power. Omitting that the Pseudo-Smerdis, who seized the kingdom, had been a priest, that he had been raised, and for some time supported by his colleagues,—we find on several occasions that the priests were dangerous for the rulers.

Scattered by Alexander's invasion, not favoured under his Parthian successors, raised and gathered again by the Sassanides, the Parsees always stuck to their doctrines, and opposed the ruler by whom these were infringed. Thus roused in every possible manner the utmost aversion in both parties, at the union of Kooshru with the fair Schireen, a Christian.

At last, the Parsees were expelled for good by the Arabs, and driven to India. What was left of them and their mental followers in Persia, is despised and insulted down to the present day ; at times tolerated, and persecuted at other times according to the whim of rulers, this religion is still persevering here and there in its primitive purity, even in desolate nooks, as has been said by a poet in "The Old Parsee's Testament."

It can hardly be doubted that in the course of ages much good is due to this religion, and that it contained the possibility of the higher civilization which spread over the Western part of the East. Yet it is exceedingly difficult to convey some notion as to how and whence this civilization was spreading. Many towns were scattered throughout many districts like centres of life ; but what appears most marvellous to me is, that the fatal neighbourhood of Indian idolatry could not influence this religion. It is striking that, while the towns of Balkh and Bamian were so close to each other, we see how in the latter the silliest idols of huge dimensions were made and adored, whilst in the former there remained temples of the pure fire, there sprang up large monasteries of this confession, and there flocked together numberless *mobeds*. How glorious was the organization of these institutes may be gathered from the extraordinary man who came from thence. Out of them came the family of the Barmekides, who were so long flourishing as influential State-Servants, until they were at last,—like an almost similar house of this kind in our day,—rooted out and driven out. [1]

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1 I beg to draw the attention of my readers to a very learned and interesting paper by Dr. A. F. J. Remy, entitled "The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany (1901)." It was after the above paper was printed that a casual look at my note-book reminded me of this paper, and it was too late to make any use of it here.

A Persian Inscription of the Mogal times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana.

(*Read on 18th March* 1915.)

I

INTRODUCTION.

Introduction.

My attention was drawn to the inscription, which forms the subject of this paper, by Mr. Keshaorao Appa Padhey, Pleader, High Court, more than two years ago, at the close of a meeting of the Anthropological Society which we attended. He showed me the stone in the archæological collection of our Society. I then requested our then librarian, Mr. Mogre, to send the stone to me for decipherment. After a short cursory attempt to decipher the inscription at my place, I wrote to the librarian to give me some particulars, as to where the stone was found, and how it came to the collection of our society. He wrote to me on 7th December 1912, as follows: "Mr. Edwardes visited Thana in June 1906. There, he was shown some inscriptions deposited in the Collector's office and in the office of the Thana Municipality. Some of them were lately excavated from the Pokharni tank of that place and others were secured at different times; 22 of these were selected by Mr. Edwardes for the Prince of Wales Museum and were ordered by him to be sent here. One more was added to these by the Mamlatdar of that place and all these 23 were received here on or about 16th June 1906. I regret, our files supply no more particulars about them. My nephew, Mr. Keshaorao Appa Padhey of Thana, might be able to throw some further light on this subject."

I then wrote to Mr. Padhey to inquire about the matter. In reply to my inquiry, he gave me the following particulars about the discovery of the stones, one of which forms the subject of this paper, in his letter, dated 19th December 1912: "The two stone inscriptions in Persian were found by me in the rear compound of the District Judge's Court at Thana. Flower-pots were placed on the back side of these slabs. My curiosity was aroused by the appearance of these slabs. I asked a Court peon to remove the flower-pots. I got

them deciphered by an Arabic scholar, Mr. Munshi Fazl-i Ali of Thana. The translation of the Persian inscriptions was submitted to the late lamented Mr. A. M. T. Jackson under whose advice the stones were despatched to Bombay. The result of the deciphering is : 'Shah Jahan, the Great Mogal Emperor placed one Rajput named Mândhâtâ मानधाता in charge of Asherigad (Asheri Fort) with 5,000 horse.' This Asheri Fort is in Berar, and is considered as an impregnable and commanding fort. Another fort of that name is near Palgar (20 miles off the Railway Station). It would be interesting to note that the great Mogal Emperor should have considered this fort in the remotest corner of the Konkan as an important one. I have failed to ascertain as to how the stones were brought to Thana. I have discovered other stones of still remoter dates (such as one bearing Savat 1140), about 22 pieces of architectural friezes and marble-idols from Thana, and an inscription of king Nagardev being of 13th century."

Then, recently, I wrote to Mr. Edwardes to inquire, if he could give me any further particulars, collected by him on his above visit to Thana. He wrote to me in reply on 11th March 1915 :

"I really forget the details of the stone from Thana. But I do remember going over there one day and looking at a collection of stone relics, of which this particular stone with the Persian inscription was one. And I remember giving orders for them to be sent in to Bombay to be ultimately placed in the Museum. It is, I think, correct that Mr. Keshaorao Appa Padhey noticed the stone and it was probably on his information that I went over to Thana. But I remember no other details now."

It appears from all this correspondence, that Mr. Padhey first discovered the stone under a flower-pot in the District Judge's Court at Thana in about 1906. He communicated the discovery to the late Mr. Jackson, who was at one time the Collector of Thana. Mr. Jackson communicated that discovery to Mr. Edwardes, who was then the Honorary Secretary of our Society. Mr. Edwardes went to Thana in June 1906 and saw the stone there. He then got the stone in question, together with some other stones and archæological relics, removed to the rooms of our Society with a view that they all may be subsequently placed in the Prince of Wales Museum.

This is the story of the journey of the stone from the Thana Judge's Court to our rooms, but we know nothing as to how it came to the Thana Court from the hill of Mahavli or Mâhuli, to which, as we will see later on, it originally belonged.

We do not know, what has become of the translation, referred to by Mr. Padhey as given to the late Mr. Jackson. However, if the translation, led the gentleman who translated it or Mr. Padhey to the conclusion, as said in Mr. Padhey's letter, that the inscription only takes a note of king Shah Jahan appointing Mândhâta in charge of Asherigad, (Asirgad), that is not sufficient. The main object of the inscription is to record the fact of a son of Mândhâta being appointed in command of the Mahratta forts—Mahâvli, Pâlâsghad and one other fort, perhaps Bhandarghad. Of the three groups of the Thana forts—the coast group, the inland group and the Sahyâdri group—these forts belong to the second inland group of 24 forts. They form parts of the Mâhuli fortifications in the Shâhâpur taluka or sub-division.[1] They are situated on the Mâhuli hill.[2]

After I announced my paper, I learnt from our librarian, Mr. Gothasker, that a photo of the stone was taken by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Archæological Department of Bombay, at the request of Prof. Shaikh Abdul Kadir Surfraz of the Deccan College at Poona. I wrote a few days ago to both these gentlemen. I heard only yesterday from Mr. Bhandarkar that he was in Sind on tour and so could not help me now. Professor Surfraz wrote to me in his letter, dated 8th March 1915, that he had no photographs, but a paper-impression, taken for him sometime ago by Mr. Bhandarkar. I produce here that paper-impression and beg to thank Professor Surfraz for it. I learn from his letter that he had got the impression taken some years ago by Mr. Bhandarkar with a view to decipher the inscription and to read a paper, but that, owing to press of work and being away from a good library, he could not do so.

The object of this paper is two-fold :

Object of the Paper.

1. To give a decipherment of the inscription, which is bi-lingual or an inscription in two languages,—one, a small one, in Hindi in Nagari characters, beginning on the top of the slab and then running down on its right hand margin, and the other in Persian.

2. To trace the historical events referred to in it and to give some historical and geographical particulars about the persons and places referred to in it.

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[1] The Bombay Gazetteer. Thana. Places of Interest, Vol. XIV, p. 98.

[2] Mr. S. M. Bharucha, the present Collector of Thana, in his letter, dated 10th March 1915, in reply to my inquiries, says that the Mahuli hill is "5 miles from Asangaon Railway Station on the G. I. P. Ry., and the ascent after leaving the road is about 2 miles. There is no made road but only a cart-track."

As to the first object, I do not presume that my decipherment is altogether correct. There are a few difficulties in deciphering it quite correctly. One can see, both from the stone and the impression which I produce that the slab is a little broken. It has lost a slip in a somewhat vertical line. So, words and letters here and there are lost. This is the principal cause of the difficulty for an altogether correct decipherment. Another cause is the difficulty of deciphering the *nuktehs* (نکتہ) or points occurring on Persian letters. It is difficult to determine whether a particular part of the slab bears a *nukteh*, or only a scar as the result of the wear and tear or a careless handling of the stone. However, in spite of these petty obstacles, there is no great difficulty in deciphering the inscription, as far as the sense of the whole inscription is concerned. One may decipher a word or letter, here and there, in a way, different from the one which I beg to submit, but I think, that that will not make much difference in the matter of the general signification or the meaning of the inscription. I beg to thank Professor Khodayâr Sheheryâr, Mr. G. K. Nariman and Mr. M. P. Kharegat for kindly helping me to decipher a word here and there.

As to the second object of the paper, *viz.*, the narrative of the historical events and the description of the geographical places referred to in the inscription, I am indebted to books referring to the historical works of the time of Jehangir—works like Elliot's History of India, especially Vol. VI, and the Gazetteer volumes. As to the Persian text itself which refers to Shah Jahan's rebellion, I am indebted to an old manuscript copy of the Târikh-i-Jahângiri (تاریخ جہانگیری) in the Moola Feroze Library.

I will first give my reading of the inscription and then the translation.

II

THE TEXT AND THE TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION.

The Hindi Inscription.

माहाराजा मानधाता गोरं का बेटा राजा मनोहरदासजीका अमलमै भंडारेदरंग व महावली व पालासगढ की गमारति का सर्व काम तैयार हुवा.

Translation.

During the administration of Raja Manohardas, the son of Mahârajâ Mândhâtâ Gor, all the works of the buildings of Bhandâr-darang[1] and Mahâvli and Palâsghad were finishe d.

[1] Doubtful reading.

THE PERSIAN INSCRIPTION.

(1)[1] چون در سنه یکهزار سي و دو هجري شاه جهان ( )[2] ل و متاع معم خادمان محل بر قلعه آسیر حواله راجه گوپالداس کور

(2) نموده خود بدولت عازم به سمت پورب شدند در هنگام ( ) راجه متارالیه از سلطان پرویز قریب دو سال در آسیر

(3) جنگ نمود بعد چند روز شاهجهان از آنجا عبور نموده باز به دکهن تشریف ارزاني فرمودند آن زمان راجه گوپالداس بملازمت

(4) فایض گشته به خطاب راجه مانه هاتا و بمنصب پنجهزاري از روي عنایت پادشاهانه مرحمت شدند چنانچه راجه مانه هاتا

(5) با پسرکلان باسم کنور بلرام در جنگ تهیه بکار آمدند بعد ازان در سنه یکهزار سي و شش حضرت شاهجهان بر تخت دهلي زیر بخش

(6) گردیدند و در سنه یکهزار شصت دو راجه منوهرداس پسر راجه مانه (هاتا) به قلعه داري قلعه آسیر معین گشته تا شش سال

(7) خدمت قلعه داري قلعه مسطور بصدق عقیده بجا آوردند و در سنه یکهزار (شص) ت و هشت شاه اورنگ بادشاه بر تخت سلطنت

(8) زیب افزا شدند و در سنه یکهزار هفتاد پنج نقش درست اعتقاد (ي و) ثابت قدمي قلعه داري آسیر از راجه منوهرداس

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1 These figures on the right hand side indicate the number of the lines of the Inscription.

2 These brackets denote gaps, due to the breakage on the slab. At the close of the meeting, where the paper was read, Prof. Isfahani suggested that the missing part may be تمام ما, which, with the remaining letter ل, may read تمام مال, *i.e.*, all property. One cannot say with certainty if the first word is تمام, but it seems pretty certain that the next word is مال. The words مال و متاع are generally spoken together.

(9) در خاطر مبارک مقدس معلي پسند آورده بخدمت قلعه داري مهاولي وغيره مرحمت فرمودند چنانچه در عمل قلعه داري راجه مذبور کار

(10) [1] شکست ریخت دیوار ها وانبار خانه ها قلعه مهاولي وپرلاس گده و زینه [2] پایه وغیره قلعه بند از درنک آراست شدند پنجم رمضان سنه ۱۱

Translation.

When, in the year 1032 Hijri, Shâh Jahân, entrusting..... his [3] property and [4] his servants of the palace in the charge of Raja Gopaldass Gor in the fort of Asir, himself set [5] out with good fortune on a journey in the direction of Purab, [6] then (lit. at the time) [7] .....the abovenamed [8] Raja fought with Sultan Parviz for nearly two years in Asir. After some days, Shâh Jahân crossing over from that place went back to Dakhan. At that time, Raja Gopaldass having served well [9] with attendance [10], was presented by way of Royal favour with the title of Rajâ Mândhâta and with the *mansab* (*i.e.*, post) of 5,000. So, Raja Mândhâta with his elder son named Kunvar [11] Balrâm, prepared [12] for war. After that, in the year 1036, Hazrat (*i.e.*, His Majesty) Shâh Jahân sat on the throne [13] of Delhi. And in the year 1062, Raja Manohardas, the son of Raja Mândhâta, being appointed on the fort-commandership of the fort of Asir, performed faithfully [14] for six years, the service of the fort-commandership of the above fort. And in the year

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[1] Prof. Isfahani suggests شکست ریخت in the sense of "repairs."

[2] As suggested by Prof. Isfahani at the meeting when the paper was read.

[3] *Vide* the note in the text above. The reading of the missing words seems correct. If so, the words here would be "all goods (and)."

[4] Lit. with.

[5] عازم شدن to set out.

[6] Prof. Isfahani suggests that it may be a Hindi word for the East, पूर्व and we know from history that Shâh Jahân did go to Orissa and Bengal which are situated on the East of Khandesh.

[7] A word or two missing.

[8] Mushâr ilaihi (Steingass, p 96, col. 2, p. 1242, col. I.)

[9] Lit. having become abundant or affluent.

[10] Or service.

[11] Or prince.

[12] تهیه preparation.

[13] Lit. became the glory-giver on the throne.

[14] Lit. with the truth of faithfulness.

1068, Shah Aurang Bâdshah came to the throne[1]. And in the year 1075, (His Majesty), liking (lit. bringing into his liking in his auspicious, holy and high-mind) the faithful trustworthiness, (and) firmness of the commandership of the fort of Asir by Raja Manohardas, appointed him on (lit. favoured him with) the service of the commandership of Mahâvli, etc. So, in the rule of the commandership of the above-named Raja, the work of rebuilding the walls and storehouses of the fort of Mahâvli and Palâsghadha and of the steps of the stairs, etc., of the fort of Bhandâr-darang[2] was done. The fifth of Ramzan year eleven.

The object of the inscription.

The pith of what the inscription says is this: Shâh Jahân, when he rebelled against his father Jahangir, had placed one Raja Gopaldass Gor in the command of the fort of Asir, which was a very strong fort in Khandesh. He placed his superfluous things and his domestics there, and went to fight against his brother Sultan Parvez whom his father had sent to suppress his rebellion. Gopaldass held the fort well against Sultan Parvez for nearly two years. So, Shâh Jahân rewarded him with the title of Mândhâta and a *mansab* of 5,000. This Raja was latterly helped by his son Prince Balram or Bâlârâm. Then Shâh Jahân came to the throne in 1036 Hijri. The inscription takes no note of the intervening events, the principal of which was, that Shâh Jahân had apologized and was forgiven. In 1062 Hijri "(*i.e.*, 26 years after Shâh Jahân's accession to the throne)," Raja Manohardas, the son of the above Raja Gopaldass, was appointed in command of the fort of Asir. He ruled well for six years, *i.e.*, up to 1068, when Shâh Jahân's son, Aurangzeb, came to the throne. In 1075, Aurangzeb in recognition of the good services of Raja Manohardas as commander of the fort of Asir appointed him on the command of the fort of Mahâvli in the 11th year of his (Aurangzeb's) reign.

The principal object of the inscription was to commemorate this event in the 11th year of the reign of Aurangzeb (Hijri 1079) in the time of Raja Manohardas. But, in taking note of that event, it has referred to a few preceding events from Hijri 1032, *i.e.*, to the events of about 47 years, to show the meritorious services of Raja Manohardas and his father Gopaldass in connection with the fort of Asir, in recognition of which the command of Mahâvli was given to him. In point of importance, Mahâvli stands much lower than the famous Asirghad, but, perhaps, Aurangzeb thought it advisable to put an important fort of Thana, that was newly acquired, under the command of an experienced officer, who had done his work well at Asir.

1 Lit. became glory-enhancer of the throne of the kingdom.

2 The last part of the word is doubtful. It seems to be a rendering of Hindi ભંડાર દરંગ.

The inscription says nothing, as to how the fort of Mahâvli came into the hands of Aurangzeb. But we will see, later on, that the historians of the reign of this Mogal Emperor tell us, that Aurangzeb had to fight with the Mahrathas under Shivaji. Shivaji, being hard pressed, surrendered himself to Aurangzeb. One of the terms of the surrender was, that he was to give up the forts of Thana to the Mogal Emperor. Mahâvli was one of such hostile forts. It was in the time of his Governorship as the Commander of Mahâvli and Palâsghad that the fortifications of Mahâvli, Palâsghad and one other fort on the same hill were put in good order. The inscription says that this was done in the 11th year of Aurangzeb's reign.

III

EVENTS OF THREE REIGNS.

A List of the Events.

The inscription refers to some events of the reigns of three Mogul Emperors—Jahangir, Shâh Jahân and Aurangzeb. It takes a note of the events of about 44 years—from 1032 to 1075 Hijri. In order to have a clear grasp of the historical events noted therein, one must know something of the reign of Jahangir, especially of his relations with his son, Shâh Jahân, who had rebelled against him.

An Account of Shâh Jahân's Rebellion.

The lives of kings Jahangir and Shâh Jahân of the Mogul dynasty of India present, in one respect, a parallel, as it were, to the lives of king Gushtâsp and his son Aspandyâr of the Kiânian dynasty of Persia. The parallel illustrates the moral maxim, "You will reap as you will sow." King Gushtâsp of Iran, in his youthful days, was a disobedient son, giving some trouble to his father Lohrasp. He asked for the throne of Persia in his father's life-time. In his turn, when he came to the throne, his son Aspandyâr behaved in the same way and asked for the throne in his father's life-time. In India, Jahangir had turned out a disobedient son to his father Akbar. So, he, in his turn, had two disobedient sons, Khusru and Khurram, latterly known as Shâh Jahân. Shâh Jahân again had a disobedient son in Aurangzeb, who kept his old father in custody.

A parallel between the Kiânian kings of Persia and the Mogul kings of India.

Khusru rose in rebellion against his father Jahangir in the very first year of his reign. Jahangir marched against him and took him prisoner. Khusru was the cause of much grief to his father, both directly and indirectly.

Khusru's Rebellion.

At one time, a seditious person, Kutb by name, acted the part of the Pseudo-Smerdis of the Achemnian times of king Darius of Persia

and "declared himself to be Khusrû, and said that, having escaped from prison, he had come there (into the territory of Ujjainiya which lies near Patna); and that those who joined and helped him should share in his success."[1] His rebellion was suppressed after some fight and he was put to death. Jahangir then tried to forget and forgive his son Khusrû, but his leniency had no great effect upon his son.

Prince Khurram or Shah Jahan, at one time, a favourite son of Jahangir.

Jahangir's other son Khurram was, at one time, his great favourite. Jahangir thus speaks of the favours he bestowed upon him on Thursday, the 20th Mehr, in the 12th year of his reign (11th Shawwal 1026 Hijri): "After he had paid me his respects, I called him in the window where I was sitting, and with the impulse of excessive paternal affection and love, I immediately rose up and took him in my arms. The more he expressed his reverence and respect for me, the more my tenderness increased towards him. I ordered him to sit by me . . . . . Formerly at the conquest of the Râṇâ (*Râṇâ* Amar Sing), a *mansab* of 20,000 and the command of 10,000 horse had been conferred on Prince Khurram, and when he was sent to the Dakhin, he was honoured with the title of a Shâh. Now, in consideration of his present service, his *mansab* was promoted to a *mansab* of 30,000 and the command of 20,000 horse. I also conferred on him the title of Shâh Jahân. It was also ordered, that henceforth a chair should be placed for him in the Court next to my throne, an honour which was particularly conferred on him, and had never before been known in my family."[2]

Shah Jahan's Rebellion.

Latterly (in 1029 Hijri, 1620 A.D.), when there arose a rebellion in the Deccan he sent Khurram (Shah Jahan) to suppress it. On Jumad-l awwal, 1031 Hijri (March 1622), news reached Jahangir that Khurram (Shah Jahan), upon whom he had bestowed many favours as said above, had himself risen in rebellion. Jahangir sent Raja Roz-afzun, one of his oldest servants to Khurram, who was then at Mandu, to inquire into the cause of the rebellion. Jahangir got displeased with this rebellious son. He thus speaks of the way in which he expressed his displeasure: "When Khurram's son was ill, I made a vow that, if God would spare his life, I would never shoot an animal again with my own hand. For all my love of shooting, I kept my vow for five years to the present time; but now that I was offended with Khurram, I resolved to go out shooting again."[3]

Jahangir then spoke of his son as *siyâh bakht*, *i.e.*, dark-fortuned. He issued an order that thenceforth be should be called *bi dault*, *i.e.*,

[1] Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 321. [2] Ibid, pp. 351 [3] Ibid, p. 384.

without fortune or wretch. These words carry a sense opposed to that of his original name Khurram (خرم) which means "auspicious, pleasant, delightful."

Jahangir's displeasure.

We read the following passage in the Memoirs of Jahangir, expressive of his displeasure towards this rebellious son :—

"I directed that henceforward he should be called 'Wretch,' and whenever the word 'Wretch' occurs in this *Ikbâl-nâma*, it is he who is intended. I can safely assert that the kindness and instruction which I have bestowed upon him, no King has ever yet bestowed upon a son. The favours which my respected father showed to my brothers, I have shown ever to his servants. I exalted his titles, made him lord of a standard and drum, as may be recorded in this *Ikbâl-nâma*, and the fact cannot be concealed from the readers of it. The pen cannot describe all that I have done for him, nor can I recount my own grief, or mention the anguish and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, which is so injurious to my health, especially during these journeys and marchings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him who is no longer my son."

A List of important Events.

The stone inscription which forms the subject of this paper refers to the events connected with this rebellion of Shah-Jahan. To enable one to have a clear grasp of the few events referred to in it, I will give here a list of a few important events with dates of the reign of Jahangir (1569—1627 A. D.) and of some subsequent events, as given by Mahomedan historians and by the Inscription.

Hijri year.	A. D.	
975	1567	Jahangir born.
1001	1592	Khurram (Shah Jahan) born.
	1600	Fortress of Asir taken by king Akbar.
1014	1605	Jahangir came to throne("Jahangir counted the years of his reign by the solar reckoning, and the first year of his reign as commencing on the New Year's Day next year after his accession with the entrance of the Sun into Aries, which corresponded with the 11th Zi-l ka'da, 1014 A. H. (10th March 1606 A. D.)." [2] He was about 38 years of age when he came to throne.
		His rebellious son Khusru was arrested and imprisoned.

1 Elliot, Vol. p. 281.

2 Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 290, n. 2. Owing to this reason, and the difference in the dates of the commencement of the Hijri and Christian years, the A.D. years will, at times, not correspond exactly

Hijri year.	A. D.	
1017	1609	Jahangir sent his son Sultan Parvez with his (Jahangir's) preceptor Khân Khânân (Mirza Khan) "to secure the settlement of the Dakhin."
1018	1610	An attempt by one Kutb to raise a rebellion, pretending that he was Jahangir's son Khusru, who had escaped from prison.
1022	1613	Campaign against the Râná—Rana Amar Singh—who was the greatest of the Rajas of Hindustan and ruled in Mewat and Jeypore. His ancestors had, at different times, assumed the titles of Rawal, Raja, Rup, and Rana. Jahangir first sent his son Sultan Parwez on the campaign. Then he sent Khurram (Shâh Jahân) on the expedition. (Both these sons are referred to in the Inscription).
1023	1614	The Rana submitted.
1024	1616	Jahangir as a matter of favour first gave permission to Prince Khurram to drink wine "on feast days, on New Year's Day, and at great entertainments, but always with moderation; for to drink to excess and weaken the intellect is avoided by the wise; in fact some good and benefit ought to be obtained from wine-drinking," [1]
1025	1616	Plague broke out in many parts of Hindustan.
1026	1618	Khurram saw Jahangir at Mandu and was honoured with the title of Shâh Jahân.
		Jahangir's journey to Guzarat, when he visited Ahmedabad which he called Gardâbâd (*i.e.*, the city of dust) on account of its dust, the result of its sandy soil. Later on he thus speaks of it. "I have previously called this city Gardâbâd. Now, I do not know what to call it—whether Samûmistân (the home of the simoom), Bimâristân (place of sickness), Zakûmdâr (thorn-brake), or Jahannamâbâd (hell), for all these names are appropriate."[2]
		From Ahmedabad, he went to Khambait (Cambay, *lit* the place of a *khamb* or pillar, which was at first put up by a Raja there when he founded the city) which was a great port and which had a mint. His silver coins (*tanka*) struck there during his visit to Khambait commemorate the conquest of Deccan, the rebellion of which is referred to in the inscription, by saying on one side: "After the conquest of the Dakhin, he (Jahangir) came from Mândû to Gujarât." These silver and similar gold *tankas* were called, "Jahangiri *tankas*."

1 Ibid, P. 341. Cf. for wine-drinking Pahlavi Dadistan-i Dinik, Chaps, 50 and 51 S. B. E, Vol, XVIII, pp. 176-80.

2 Ibid., p, 358.

Hijri year.	A.D.	
1027	1618	Appearance of a comet. This appearance of the comet was taken to be ill-omened because plague again broke out extensively. "It was also through the effects of this phenomenon that a misunderstanding arose between His Majesty and the fortunate Prince Shâh Jahân. The disturbances which thus originated lasted 7 or 8 years. What blood was shed in the country! and what families were ruined!"[1]
1027	1618	Jahangir presented to Khurram (Shâh Jahân) the first copy of his Jahangir-nâma containing an account of all the events of the first twelve years of his reign. He presented this first copy to Shâh Jahân whom he "considered in all things the first of all his sons."[2]
1028		Aurangzeb born.
1029		Khurram sent for the conquest of the fort of Kangra "situated in the hills north of Lahore." The fort was besieged. It surrendered later on, on 1st Mohorrum 1031.
1029	1620	Rebellion in the Deccan. Shâh Jahân sent to suppress it.
1030	1621	Khurram (Shâh Jahân) gains some victories over the rebels.
1031	1622	Khurram rose in rebellion against his father Jahangir.
1032	1623	Jahangir appointed his son Shah Parwez to the command of the army against Shâh Jahân. This event is referred to in the inscription. Shâh Jahân coming out of the fort of Mandu, was defeated. So, crossing the Nerbudda he fled towards the fort of Asir.
1032	1623	Shâh Jahân places his things and women under the charge of Gopaldass at Asir. This is the first event referred to in the inscription.
1033	1624	Shâh Jahân fled to Orissa and thence to Bengal. This seems to be referred to in the inscription as going to Purab or the East. He then "proceeded towards the Dakhin." This return to the Deccan is also referred to in the inscription.
1034	1625	Shâh Jahân arrived in the Deccan. Being defeated more than once by his father's army, he sued for peace. Jahangir consented on condition that Shâh Jahân sent "his sons Darah Shukoh and Aurangzeb to Court and would surrender Rohtâs and the fortress of Asir which were held by his adherents." Shâh Jahân then proceeded to Nasik.

[1] Elliot's History, VI, p. 407. [2] Ibid, p. 360.

Hijri year.	A. D.	
1035	1626	Khusru died.
1036	1627	Jahangir died aged 60. Shâh Jahân came to throne. The inscription also gives the date of accession as 1036 Hijri.
	1627	Shivaji born.
	1646	Shivaji withheld the tribute due to Shâh Jahân.
1062	1652-53	Raja Manohardas appointed commander of the Fort of Asir. (We do not find any reference to this in any book of history. It is the inscription that refers to it.)
1068	1658	Aurangzeb came to throne. The inscription gives the date as 1068.
	1664	Shivaji attacks Surat.
1075	1665	Treaty of Purandhar, by which Shivaji surrendered the territory he had taken from the Moguls. By that treaty, he surrendered the Thana Hill forts also.
		Raja Manohardas appointed to the command of the Mahâvli forts surrendered by Shivaji.
1076	1666	Shâh Jahân died.
	1707	Aurangzeb died.

IV

A SURVEY OF THE EVENTS.

We will now proceed to understand clearly the events referred to in the stone inscription.

The Hindi inscription.

The short Hindi inscription at the top and on the right hand margin simply says, that it was during the governorship of Raja Manohardas, the son of Mahârajâ Mândhâtâ Gêr that some works, relating to (the forts of) Mahâvli, Palâsghad and a third fort which seems to me to be Bhandârgad, were done. We will speak of the persons and places, mentioned in this short Hindi inscription, in our description of the larger Persian inscription.

The first event referred to in the Persian inscription is that of Hijri 1032, when Shâh Jahân is said to have entrusted all his property and servants of the palace to the charge of Gopaldas Gor in the fort of Asir and to have started on a journey of war.

1. Shâh Jahân, Raja Gopaldass and the Fort of Asir.

This event and the circumstances which led to this event and the fight with Sultan Parwez, another son of Jahangir, are all explained by the following passage which we read in the Târikh-i-Jahangiri or the History of Jahangir:.

The Târikh-i-Jahangiri.

از آب نربده عبور فرموده و کشتیها را به آنطرف کشیده بیرم بیگ بخشي را باجمعي بر کنار گذاشته خود با خانخانان بصوب قلعه آسیر و برهانپور شتافتند ..... چون موکب کیهان شکوه بپاي قلعه آسیر پیوست میر حامد الدین ولد میر جلال الدین حسین انجو از قلعه بر آمده ملازمت نمود و آنحضرت خود اهل حرم بر فراز قلعه شتافته سه روز توقف فرموده و حراست قلعه بکوبالداس راجپوت که سپاهي کاردان بود تفویض یافت سامان آذوقه و سائر مصالح قلعه داري به وجه دلخواه فرموده بسیاري از پرستاران حرم اقبال را و سائر اسباب زیادتی که همراه گردانیدن آن تعذر تمام داشت در آنجا گذاشته متوجه برهانپور شدند [1]

Translation.

He (Shâh Jahân), having crossed the river Narbudda, and having drawn all the boats on this side (*i.e.*, bank of the river), and having placed Bairam Beg Bakhshi together with a number (of troops for guard) on the banks, hastened with Khân-Khânân in the direction of the fort of Asir and Barhanpur. . . . . When the army of the Majesty of the world (*i.e.*, Shâh Jahân) came to the fort of Asir, Mir Hamu-l-din, the son of Mir Habalu-l-din Husein Anju coming out of the fort, paid his respects. And His Highness himself, going up the fort with the people of his harem and staying there for three days, confided the custody of the fort to Gopaldas Rajput, who was an experienced

[1] Manuscript of the Tarikh-i-Jahangiri تاریخ جهانگیري in the Moola Feroze Library. (IV. R. 12). Events of the سال یازدهم, *i.e.*, the 18th year, 14th page of this year's account.

soldier. And having arranged, according to the desire of his heart, for the materials of provisions and for the rest of the affairs of the command of the fort, and having left in that place, many of the female servants of his royal harem and the rest of superfluous goods that were difficult to be taken on his way (of journey), went towards Barhanpur.

The Wakiât-i-Jahangiri or the Memoirs of Jahangir, as translated in Elliot's History of the Mahomedan rulers of India, describes this event as follows :

The Wakiat-i-Jahangiri.

"On the 25th Urdibihisht [1] (1032 Hijri 1623 A.D.), I appointed my son Shâh Parwez to the command of the army operating against the rebel. He was to have the supreme command."[2] Shah Parwez, of whom the inscription speaks as Sultan Parwez, had an army of "40,000 horse, with suitable artillery." Shâh Jahân, who was then in the fort of Mandu, came out with an army of "20,000 horse, 600 elephants and powerful artillery with the intention of giving battle. . . . . Shâh Jahân, not daring to risk a general action, and thinking always of his retreat, sent his elephants over the Nerbadda. He then sent his forces against the royal army near the village of Kâliya ; but he himself, with Khan-khânân and several others, remained a *kos* in the rear." When he heard that some of his trusted officers had gone over to the side of his father "he gave up resistance, and, being unable to place reliance upon any one, he determined to fly. With his forces in disorder, he crossed the Nerbadda. . . . . He himself went off towards the fort of Asir. . . . . When the rebel Shâh Jahân reached Asîr, he placed Khân-khânân, Dârâb, and all his other children in confinement in the upper part of the fortress. He remained there three or four days, attending to the victualling and preparation of the fortress, which he placed under the command of Gopâl Das, a Rajput. .....When he departed he left some of his women and superfluous things there in charge of Gopâl ; but he took with him his three wives, his children, and such maids as were necessary."[3]

The inscription places this event in 1032 Hijri (1623 A.D.). The Wakiat-i-Jahangiri also places it in the same year. The Târikh-i-Jahangiri also gives the same year.

There is one word in the account of the first event referred to in the inscription which requires a little explanation. The inscription speaks of *khâdamân* (خادمان), *i.e.*, domestic servants being left by Shâh

[1] Urdibihisht is the month Ardibehesht, the second month of the Parsees. Jahangir, following the precedent of his father Akbar, used Parsi months.

[2] Elliot VI, p. 386. [3] Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., pp. 387-88.

Jahân at the fort of Asir together with goods and property (مال و متاع). The Târikh-i Jahangiri speaks of the female servants of the royal harem (پرستاران حرم). We must understand that both seem to mean the same thing, because the word *khâdam* (خادم) in Persian is used for both, male and female, domestic servants.

The Raja Gopaldas Gor (راجه گوپالداس کور) of the inscription is the Gopaldass Rajput (گوپالداس راجپوت) of the Târikh-i Jahangiri.

2. Shâh Jahân's Retreat toward the Deccan.

The next event referred to in the inscription is that of Shâh Jahân crossing a river and going to Deccan. This event is thus referred to in Jahangir's Wakiât : "Shâh Jahân, when he heard of the defection of Khân-khânân, the passage of the river by the Imperial troops, and the retreat of Bairam Beg, fell back. Notwithstanding heavy rain and inundations, he crossed the river Mati in a wretched state, and went off towards the Dakhin."[1] According to the Wakiât-i Jahangiri Prince Parwez and his army then "pressed on in pursuit of the rebel across the river (Tâptî)."

3. Shâh Jahân honouring Gopaldas with the title of Mandhata.

The third event referred to in the inscription is that of Raja Gopaldas being further honoured by Shâh Jahân with the title of Mândhâtâ and a *mansab* of Rs. 5,000. The Raja, thus honoured, continued with his son Prince Balrâm (Balârâm), to serve Shâh Jahân faithfully. This seems to be a minor event, and so, we find no reference to it in any historical book. But we know this much, that Gopaldas held the fortress of Asir for Shâh Jahân very long. Shâh Jahân, on being defeated at first, had gone to Orissa and from there to Bengal, and from there back to the Deccan in 1034 A.D. He had then laid siege to Barhanpur. He carried three assaults over the city but failed. Then he retired to Balaghât. Thence he went again towards the Deccan. Then he made peace with his father. It was then that Asir was surrendered to Jahangir. We read the following about its final surrender in the supplement to Jahangir's Wakiât (Tatimma-i Wakiât-i Jahangiri) :

"But he was seized with illness on the way (to Deccan). The error of his conduct now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expressing his sorrow and

[1] Elliot VI, p. 389.

repentance, and begging pardon for all faults past and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hands, to the effect that if he would send his sons Dârâ Shukoh and Aurangzeb to Court, and would surrend Rohtâs and the fortress of Asir, which were held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Balâghât should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this, Shâh Jahân deemed it his duty to conform to his father's wishes ; so, notwithstanding the love he had for his sons, he sent them to his father, with offerings of jewels, chased arms, elephants, &c., to the value of ten *lacs* of rupees. He wrote to Muzaffar Khân, directing him to surrender Rohtâs to the person appointed by the Emperor, and then to come with Sultân Murâd Bakhshi. He also wrote to Hayât Khân directions for surrendering Asir to the Imperial officers. Shâh Jahân then proceeded to Nasik." [1] This was in 1035, the 21st year of the reign of Jahangir.

4. Conferring the title of Mândhâta on Gopaldas.

The Hindi inscription speaks of the commander of the fort as Mândhâtâ Gôr. The Persian inscription speaks of him as Raja Gopaldas Gôr and says that the title of Mândhâtâ was given him later by Shâh Jahân. This word 'Mândhâtâ' seems to be Sanskrit मान.धात, meaning one upon whom honour (mân मान) is bestowed (dhâta धात from root *dhâ*, to confer, grant).

5. Shâh Jahân's accession to the throne.

The next event referred to in the inscription is the accession of Shâh Jahân to the throne, the date of which is given as 1036 Hijri. But the Ikbal-nameh-i Jahangiri gives the date of Jahangir's death as "the 28th Safar, 1037 Hijri in the 22nd year of his reign."[2] So Shâh Jahân came to the throne after that day. His elder brother Parwez, who had fought against him during his rebellion against his father, died on 6th Safar 1035 Hijri. [3] So on Jahangir's death, "Âsof Khân, the chief personage in the State, in concert with Khan-i-azam (Irâdat Khan), brought Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusrû, out of confinement, and held out to him the prospect of his becoming king." [4] But in the end "on the 2nd Jumâd-l-awwal, 1037 A. H., agreeing with 10th Bahman, in the twenty-second year of the reign of Jahangir, by general consent Shâh Jahân was proclaimed at Lahore, and the *Khutba* was read in his name." [5]

The Badshah-nama of Abdu-l-Hamid Lahori, which gives an account of the first twenty years of Shâh Jahân's reign, also gives 28th

[1] Elliot, p. 396. [2] Elliot VI, p. 435. [3] Ibid, p. 432.
[4] Ibid, p. 435. [5] Ibid, p. 438.

Safar A. H. 1037 (28th October 1627) as the date of Jahangir's death [1] (age 58 years one month) and "18th Jumâda-s Sani 1037 A. H. (6th February 1628)" as the date of Shâh Jahân's accession. So, the date given by the inscription as that of Shâh Jahân's accession does not seem to be quite correct.

6. Raja Manohardas' appointment.

The next event in the Inscription is that of the appointment, in 1062 Hijri, of Raja Manohardas, the son of Raja Mândahâtâ (*i. e.*, Raja Gopaldas, who is now spoken of by his titular name given to him by Shâh Jahân), to the command of fort Asir. We saw above, that Shâh Jahân had, on making peace with his father in 1034 Hijri (1625), surrendered the fort of Asir to his father. So, it appears, that sometime after coming to the throne, he honoured the son of his former faithful commander with the command of the fort. Raja Manohardas continued on the command for six years. We know nothing of this appointment from the books of history of Shâh Jahân.

7. Aurangzeb's accession to the throne.

The next event in the Inscription is that of Aurangzeb's accession to the throne of Delhi, which, it says, occurred in 1068. The Muntakhabu-l-Lubab of Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan also gives the same date. It says: "On the 1st Zi-l-Káda, 1068 A. H. (22nd July 1658 A. D.), after saying his prayers, and at an auspicious time, he took his seat on the throne of the Empire of Hindustan, without even troubling himself about placing his name on the coinage or having it repeated in the *khutba*. . . Such matters as titles, the khutba, the coinage, and the sending of presents to other sovereigns were all deferred to his second taking possession of the throne." [2]

Aurangzeb ascended the throne during the lifetime of his father Shâh Jahân. "On the 7th Zi-l-hijja 1067 A. H. (Sept. 8, 1657 A. D.) (the Emperor Shâh Jahân, called after his death) Firdaus Makani was attacked with illness." [3] His son "Dâra Shukoh looked upon himself as heir to the throne, and even in the time of his father's health he had held the reins of government. But he had fallen into ill repute through having imbibed the heretical tenets of the Sufis. . . . . He had also associated himself with the *Brahmans* and *Gosains*. Seizing the opportunity (of his father's illness) .....he closed the roads of Bengal, Ahmadabad, and Dakhin against messengers and travellers.....When intelligence of these proceedings reached Muhammad Shuja in Bengal and Muhammad Murad Baksh in Ahmadabad (two of the sons of Shâh Jahân), each of them, vying with the other, had coins struck and the *khutba* read in his own name." [4] Aurangzeb, at first pretended to be

[1] Elliot VII, p. 5. [2] Ibid, p. 229. [3] Ibid, p. 213. [4] Ibid, Vol. VII, p. 214.

friendly with Muhammad Murad Bakhsh and offered him his co-operation. He then defeated Dara Sukoh and confined Shâh Jahân. He then imprisoned Murad Bakhsh and declared himself king. He then defeated prince Shuja, who marched from Bengal. He abolished the Ilahi calender and the festival of Nauroz. He was "unwilling that the *Nauroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession." [1] Shâh Jahân died " at the end of Rajab 1076 A.H. (22nd Jan. 1666), in the eighth year of the reign of Aurangzeb.....Shah Jahan reigned 31 years and he was secluded and under restraint nearly eight years." [2]

8. Manohardas' appointment as the Commander of Asir.

The next event referred to in the Inscription is that of what occurred in 1075 Hijri (1665 A. D.), the eighth year of the reign of Aurangzeb. The inscription says, that the Emperor, in order to reward the above-said Manohardas for his faithful services as the Commander of Asir, on the command of which he seems to have continued during his reign, appointed him as the Commander of Mahâvli.

Aurangzeb and Shivaji.

This event seems to have happened in connection with Aurangzeb's war with the Mahrathas under Shivaji. Aurangzeb's troubles with Shivaji had begun in 1070 A.H. (1660 A. D.). The author of the Mutakhabu-l-Lubab who describes the history of Aurangzeb's reign thus commences his narrative of Shivaji : " I now relate what I have heard from trusty men of the Dakhin and of the Mahratta race about the origin and race of the reprobate Shivaji." He traces the descent of Sahu Bhoslah, the master of Shivaji's father, from a good stock, in the 7th or 8th generation of a person of a mixed Rajput and Mahratha marriage. He then refers to Shivaji's gradual rise and the murder of Afzulkhan at his hand. At Aurangzeb's command, Shayasta Khan, the Amiru-l-umara marched to punish Shivaji. Sometime after, in 1023 A.H. (1663 A.D.), Shivaji surprised Shayasta Khan at Poona. The next year despatches arrived at Aurangzeb's camp that " Shivaji was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jiwal, Pâbal and others near Surat, and attacked the vessels of pilgrims bound to Mecca. He had built several forts by the sea-shore." [3] In 1075 A. H. (1665 A. D.), Shivaji was hard pressed by the generals of Aurangzeb. "Accordingly he sent some intelligent men to Raja Jai Singh (a great general of Aurangzeb), begging forgiveness of his

[1] Ibid, p. 243. [2] Ibid, p. 275. [3] Elliot VII, p. 271.

offences, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held, and proposing to pay a visit to the Raja." [1] His offer of surrender was accepted. Shivaji was admitted into the presence of Raja Jai Singh to whom he said: "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts, with the country of the Konkan, to the Emperor's officers."[2]

Leaving aside the question of some possible exaggeration of the Mahomedan historian in the matter of Shivaji's affairs, what we learn, in connection with the event in question referred to in the Inscription, is this, that in 1075 Hijri (1665 A. D.) Shivaji surrendered to Aurangzeb's officers his forts in the Konkan. According to the Inscription, one of such officers of Aurangzeb, was Raja Manohardas, the Commander of Asir; and one of the forts of Konkan thus surrendered was Mahâvli in the Thana district in Konkan. We learn from the inscription that Aurangzeb rewarded the services of Raja Manohardas by placing him in command of the newly possessed fort of Mahâvli.

9. The Fortifications of Mahâvli put in order.

The last and the most important event, in fact *the* event which is the *raison d être* of this inscription, which is noted on the stone, is the fact that it was during this commandership of Mahâvli by Raja Manohardas, that the forts of Mahâvli and Pâlâsghad and Bhandârgad were put into proper order. The stone inscription commemorates this important event. The Mahâvli fort or Mahâvli Hill already existed, but Aurangzeb's abovenamed Commander put its fortifications in a better order or rebuilt them.

V

PLACES, REFERRED TO IN THE DESCRIPTION.

Having spoken of the personages referred to in the Inscription and the events connected with them, we will now speak of the places mentioned in it. The places mentioned therein are the following :—

1. Asir
2. Purab
3. Mahâvli
4. Pâlâsghad
5. Bhandar Dârang.

[1] Ibid, p. 273.

[2] Ibid, VII, p 274.

1. The Fort of Asir.

The Persian inscription and the Persian extract from the Târikh-i Jahangiri, both refer to the fort of Asir. Asir or Asirgadh (*i.e.*, Asir, the fort), is a great fort in the Deccan. It was said to have been built, sometime before 1370, by Asa, the shepherd king, who was the last of the race of Ashirs or shepherds who ruled over the country of the Satpura Hills, near Nimûr.[1]

Abu-l-Fazl's Account.

Abu-l-Fazl in his Akbar-nâmeh thus refers to the first foundation of a fort on the hill :—"The rulers of Khandesh were of the Faruki tribe, and the family had held rule in the country for more than 200 years. An ancestor who had connexions with the Dakhin and had served there as a soldier, being aggrieved, left that country and went to Khandesh, which country was then held by different *zamindars* and Râjâs. He came to a village which pleased him, and there a dog which accompanied him set off in pursuit of a hare, but the hare turned round and attacked the dog. This unusual exhibition of courage greatly impressed him, and he thought that the land where such a sight could be seen must be fertile in courage and daring, so he resolved to take up his abode there. He expressed his wish to the *zamindar* of the place, but it was refused. Afterwards he seized an opportunity of seeking assistance from the King of Delhi, and having collected some of his brethren (tribesmen ?) he overpowered that *zamindar*, and took possession of the village. He extended his power over other villages around, and in the end he was master of several *parganas* and commander of an armed force.

"When he died, his authority descended to his grandson, who saw the value that a fortress would be as a place of safety for his family and dependents. Asir which is situated on the top of a hill, was at that time an inhabited place. He continued by various stratagems to obtain this place from the *zamindar* who held it, and fortified it strongly. He then assumed the name of ruler, and at length the whole country of Khandesh, about 150 *kos* in length, and 50 in breadth, more or less, came under his sway.[2]"

Akbar had besieged the fortress in about 1599, when it was in the hands of the King of Khandesh. Abu-l-Fazl, his prime minister, and author of the Akbar-nâmeh was sent by Akbar to invest it in the 43rd year of his reign. The attempt was unsuccessful at first, but in the end the fort was taken.

[1] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 619.

[2] Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 137-38.

Abu-l-Fazl calls this fort of Asir "one of the wonders of the world." So, the following report of Akbar's generals, when they captured it after a siege of eleven months, will be found very interesting :

Report about Asir by Akbar's generals.

"They had never seen in any country a fort like this ; for, however long an army might press the siege, nothing but the extraordinary good fortune of the Emperor could effect its capture. Old soldiers, and men who had travelled into distant lands,—men who had seen the fortresses of Irân and Turân, of Rum, Europe, and of the whole habitable world, had never beheld the equal of this. It is situated on a high and strong hill, and three smaller hills, each having a fort, stand around it, like a halo round the moon. The ways of entrance and exit were difficult to discover. Near it there was no other hill commanding it, and no way of approach. All around was level ground, and there were no trees or jungle to serve as cover. All the time the country had been held by the dynasty, each prince, as he succeeded, did his best to keep the place in repair, to add to its strength, or to increase its stores. It was impossible to conceive a stronger fortress, or one more amply supplied with artillery, warlike stores and provisions. There were 500 *mans* of opium, *Akbarshâhi* weight in its stores. Were the fortress placed upon level ground, its reduction would be difficult, but such a hill, such a well secured fortress, and such artillery, were not to be found in any one place on the face of the earth." [1]

This strong fort was taken "on a dark rainy night by a force under (Abu'l Fazl's) command, by means of a secret way into its outwork, of which information was obtained from one of the garrison." [2]

The means of defence of the fort of Asir.

The following account of the means of defending a great Indian fort in those times will be found equally interesting :—

"After the capture of the fortress, accounts were taken of the munitions. Of pieces of artillery (zarb-zan), small and great, there were more than 1,300, besides some which were disused. The balls varied in weight from nearly two *mans* down to a *sir* or a half *sir*. There were great numbers of mortars (hukkadân), and also many *manjaniks*, each of which threw stones of 1,000 or 2,000 *mans*. On every bastion there were large iron cauldrons, in each of which twenty or thirty *mans* of oil could be boiled and poured down upon the assailants in case of assault. No account was taken of the muskets. Of provisions of all sorts, wines, medicines, aromatic roots, and of everything required for the use of man, there was vast abundance. When,

[1] Elliot VI, pp. 138-39.

[2] Ibid, p. 141 n. 1.

after a protracted siege of eleven months, the place fell into the hands of the Imperial army, the quantities of grain, oil, etc., which remained, after some thousands of men had been fed (during the siege), seemed as the stores had never been touched. The stores of ammunition were such, that thousands of *mans* were left, although the quantity consumed had been enormous. For throughout the siege a constant firing was kept up night and day, with object and without object, so that in the dark nights of the rainy season no man dared to raise his head, and a demon even would not move about. There were large chambers full of powder. There were no springs of water in the fortress; but there were two or three immense reservoirs, in which the (rain) water was collected and stored from year to year, and amply sufficed for the requirements of the garrison. In the dwelling of each officer of importance there was a separate reservoir, containing a sufficient supply of pure water for his household. Nor had all this preparation been made for the occasion; it had been kept up from the foundation of the fortress. The rulers of the country had incessantly cared for the strengthening and provisioning of the fort, more especially in respect of artillery. The revenues of several *parganas* were specially and separately assigned to keep up the supply of artillery, so that the officers of the department had independent sources for maintaining its efficiency. The population in the fortress was like that of a city, for it was full of men of every kind. After the surrender, the inhabitants came out, and there was a continuous throng night and day for a week.

"The houses of the chiefs were fine lofty buildings, and there were open spaces, gardens and fountains. In the walls of the fort, which were of great thickness, chambers and rooms were constructed for the officers of the artillery, where, during all seasons, they could live in comfort, and keep up a fire of cannon and musketry. The fortress has one gate, and outside this gate there is another fort called Kamargarh, the walls of which are joined on both sides to the great fort. This was looked upon as an outwork, and was held by inferior ranks of men, such as musketeers and archers. Below this fort, but still on an elevated spot, is another fort called Mâlgarh, which also is very strong. In comparison with the fortress, it seems at the bottom of the earth; but compared with the surface of the ground, it looks half-way up to the sky. This being the most advanced of the works, great care had been taken to strengthen it with guns and other implements. Below this was an inhabited place called Takhati, as large as a city. In short, the fortress is one of the wonders of the world, and it is impossible to convey an idea of it to any one who has not seen it." [1]

[1] Ibid, pp. 139-41.

2. Purab.

I cannot identify the place mentioned as Purab. In the Mahomedan history of the period no place of that name is mentioned. The inscription says that after arranging the affairs in the fort of Asir, Shâh Jahân went to the direction of Purab (برسمت پورب شدند). The Târikh-i Jahangiri says, that he went to the direction of Burhanpur (متوجه برهانپور شدند). So, perhaps, Purab was a place in the direction of Burhanpur. Perhaps the scribe who inscribed the inscription misunderstood or mistook Purab (پورب) for Burhanpur. (برهانپور)[1]

3. History of Mahâvli.

The Thana Gazetteer gives the following account of the history of the Mahâvli hill fort: "In the year 1485, Mahuli along with other Konkan forts, was taken by Malik Ahmad, afterwards the founder of the Ahmadnagar dynasty. In 1635, Mâhuli surrendered to Shahu, and here Jijibai, the mother of Shivaji, occasionally took refuge with her young son. In 1636, it was invested by Khan Zâman and Shahu forced to surrender. In 1661 it was taken by Shivaji, though defended by a Rajput garrison. It was soon after given to the Moghals but in 1670, after a serious repulse and a siege of two months, it was taken by Moro Trimal, Shivaji's Peshwa or Prime Minister. It seems to have been held by the Mârâthas till it was ceded by them to the English under the terms of the treaty of Poona, June 1817".[2]

Mahâvli, Pâlasgâd, and Bhandârdarang.

We read the following in the Bombay Gazetteer[3] about the Mahâvli, Pâlasgâd and Bhandârdarang forts: "Mahuli Fort on the hill of the same name 2,815 feet high, is in the Shahapur sub-division about four miles north-west of Shahapur . . . . . The fortifications are said to have been built by the Moghals and on the top are the ruins of a place of prayer and of a mosque." According to Captain Dickinson's survey in 1818, as described in the Gazetteer, "The hill has three fortified summits, Pâlâsgad on the north, Mahuli in the centre, and Bhandargad in the south. Mahuli, the middle peak, is the largest of the three, being upwards of half a mile long by nearly as much broad, with a plentiful supply of water and in many places fine soil . . . . . The other two forts Pâlâsgad to the north and Bhandargad to the south, can be reached, only up the heads of the narrow ravines which separate them from Mahuli. From the country below, Pâlasgâd alone is accessible. In Mahuli

[1] Perhaps it is a Hindi word meaning 'East', as suggested by Prof. Isfahani.

[2] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIV, Thana, Places of Interest, p. 220.

[3] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 14, Thana, Places of Interest, p. 219.

and Bhandargad there were a few buildings which required a little repair, while Pâlâsgad and other works were rapidly going to decay. In Captain Dickinson's opinion the fort was untenable. In 1862, it was very dilapidated. Time, it was said, would shortly wipe away all traces of fortifications except small parts of the old wall and the foundations."

The writer of the article in the Thana Gazetteer, when he says, that "the fortifications are said to have been built by the Moguls," says that perhaps on old traditions. He has given no authority to say that, but this newly-discovered stone inscription confirms the oral tradition that the fortifications were re-built by the Moguls. The fortifications are of the three forts Mahâvli, Pâlâsgad and Bhandargad, the names of which are found in the inscription.

The place spoken of as भंडारदरंग (Bhandârdarang in the Hindi inscription and as بندار درنگ Bandâr-darang in the Persian inscription is the same as the Bhandargad of the Gazetteer. The word *ambâr-khanah* (*i.e.*, storehouse) in the inscription, has the same signification as the word bhandâr which also means a store.

Who put up the Inscription?

The question is : Who had put up the stone ? I think, it was Raja Manohardas or one of his immediate successors who put up the stone. The fact of the stone inscription being bi-lingual points to that conclusion. A part of the inscription is in Hindi and in Nagari characters. So, it must have been put up by a Hindu governor. Had it been by a Mahomedan governor, possibly it would have been wholly in Persian. The ruins of a Mahomedan Musjid, referred to by the Gazetteer, point to the Mahomedan occupation and population, but the Hindi inscription points to the Hindu commandership of Manohardas.

Value of the Inscription.

The discovery of the inscription confirms several known facts and gives some new facts, not known before.

(1) Firstly, it confirms the old tradition that the fortifications on the Mahâvli hill, consisting of the forts of Mahâvli, Pâlâsgad and Bhandargad were built by the Moguls. (2) It settles the fact that it were the officers of Aurangzeb who put up the fortifications in good order. (3) It gives some new facts about the commanders of the fort of Asir and Mahâvli, not known from the books of History.

The Ancient History of the Suez Canal from the times of the Ancient Egyptian Kings.

(*Read 15th April* 1915).

I.

Introduction.

The present war, especially the development that has taken place in it since Turkey joined the war, has drawn fresh attention of the civilized world to the Suez Canal which forms the highway between Europe and India. At such a time, the ancient history of the canal should interest many. The modern Suez Canal was constructed during the latter half of the last century. So, the title of the paper, *viz.*, " the Ancient History of the Suez Canal" may, perhaps, seem a little strange. But it is known, that there existed long before the Christian era, a great ancient canal which connected the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, just as the modern Suez Canal does. The position of that ancient Canal was, in nearly half its course, well nigh near, and parallel to, the modern Suez Canal. It was specially so at the Suez end of it. So the old canal also may properly be called the Suez Canal. The object of this paper is to give a short history and account of that canal.

My visit of some of the centres of Achæmenian activity in Europe and Africa.

As a Parsee student, I take an interest in the ancient history of the Persians. So, during my visit of Europe in 1889, to attend the 8th Oriental Congress which met at Stockholm in that year, I managed to see some of the most prominent places connected with the history of the Achæmenians. Some of them are places of interest during the present war.

One of such places was Constantinople with the Dardanelles or the Hellespont and the beautiful Bosphorus, to cross which for his invasion of Scythia—the Saka of the Behistun Inscriptions (I, 6),[1] the modern Russian country between the Danube and the Don—Darius had put up a bridge. As said by Herodotus,[2] Darius commemorated this event by erecting two columns there with inscriptions in Persian and Greek.

The next important places I visited were Athens and the classical battlefield of Marathon, where one of the 15 decisive battles of the world, referred to by Creasy[3], was fought, a battle which occupied the same

[1] Dr. H. C. Tolman's Guide to the Old Persian Inscriptions, p. 118; Spiegel's Inscriptions, p. 5; Oppert, p. 24.

[2] Bk. IV, 87.

[3] Fifteen Decisive Battles by Sir Edwin Creasy.

place in ancient history as the battle of Tours (A.D. 732) in later history. Had Darius won at Marathon, the whole of Europe would have, perhaps, as said by Professor Max Müller, become Zoroastrian, just as, had Abdul Rehman won at Tours, the whole of Europe would have become Mahomedan[1].

The third set of places, which I took an interest in, were in Egypt, the ruins of the old town of Memphis and the Isthmus of Suez. It was from Cairo that I had gone to the town of Suez, and from there, I had about 10 miles' ride towards the site of the old and the modern canals.

Egypt, the great highway of commerce between Europe and Asia.

Egypt has been held, since very ancient times, to be the principal highway of commerce between Europe and India. So, it was, that all great conquerors, who aimed at one kind or another of World-empire, thought of conquering it. The ancient Greeks and Romans, the ancient Persians and the Macedonians, all tried to possess it. Great invaders of India, like Darius the Great and Alexander the Great, first thought of conquering Egypt and then India. Napoleon Bonaparte, that semi-Alexander, who thought of conquering India, thought of conquering it.

II.

Ancient Canals: China.

We learn from various ancient authors and old travellers, that canals existed in many countries long before the Christian era. Ancient China had its inland artificial navigation by means of canals. The Imperial Canal in China, which was completed in 1229, was 1,000 miles long and took about 40 days to navigate from one end to another. It was 30 ells (about 37½ ft.) in width. Instead of locks, as in the present canals, it had a system of sluices at which boats were hoisted up. Marco Polo thus describes this great canal of China: "You must understand that the Emperor hath caused a water-communication to be made from this city to Cambaluc in the shape of a wide and deep channel dug between stream and stream, between lake and lake, forming, as it were, a great river on which large vessels can ply. And thus there is a communication all the way from this city of Caiju to Cambaluc; so that great vessels with their loads can go the whole way. A level road also exists, for the earth dug from those channels has been thrown up so as to form an embanked road on either side."[2]

Col. Yule, quotes Rashiuddin to say, that "Kûblâi caused the sides of the embankments to be rivetted with stones, in order to prevent the

[1] Mahommedanism by Revd. Robinson, p. 7.

[2] The Book of Ser Marco Polo, translated by Sir Henry Yule (1903), Vol. II, pp. 174-75.

earth giving way. Along the side of the canal runs the high road to Machin, extending for a space of 30 days' journey, and thus has been paved throughout, so that travellers and their animals may get along during the rainy season without sinking in the mud . . . . . Shops, taverns and villages line the road on both sides, so that dwelling succeeds dwelling without intermission throughout the whole space of 40 days' journey."[1]

Canals in Persia.

According to the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, canals existed in ancient Irân from the early times of the Peshdâdian dynasty. Minocheher (Mânushchihar) was the king of the dynasty, who is credited with the work of canals and such other irrigation works in Mesopotamia, the country of the Euphrates and the Tigris, which is now ruled over by Turkey, and where the modern famous Irrigation Engineer, Sir James Wilcox, made a long survey, a few years ago, to restore the country to its former prosperous state.

The Bundehesh, in its chapter on rivers says: "The sources of the Frât (the Euphrates) river are from the frontier of Arûm, they feed upon it in Suristân, and it flows to the Dijlat (the Tigris); and of this Frât it is that they produce irrigation over the land. It is declared that Mânushchihar excavated the sources, and cast back the water all to one place, as it says thus: 'I reverence the Frât, full of fish, which Mânushchîhar excavated for the benefit of his own soul and he seized the water and gave to drink.'"[2]

The Pahlavi Minokkerad[3], Zâdsparam[4] and the Dinkard[5] also refer to the irrigation works of the ancient Iranians.

Mirkond[6], in his Rozat-us-Safa, speaks of king Minocheher as one who had dug a canal in connection with the Euphrates. His statement corroborates the Pahlavi Bundehesh.

Egypt, the Land of Canals.

Not only has Egypt been the ancient highway of commerce with Mesopotamia, but it has also been a country of ancient canals. According to Herodotus, Sesostris (Ramses II), was the first Egyptian King, who supplied a large number of canals to Egypt. "The entire face of the country was changed; for whereas Egypt had formerly been a region suited both for horses and carriages, henceforth it became entirely unfit

[1] Ibid, p. 175, n. 2.
[2] Chapter XX, 10-11, West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 78.
[3] Chapter XXVII, 44; S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 62.
[4] Chapter XII, 3-4, S. B. G., XLVII, p. 134.
[5] Book VII, Chapter I, 29-30, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 11.
[6] Mirkhond's Rauzat-us-Safa, translated by Shea, pp. 186-87.

for either. Though a flat country throughout its whole extent, it is now unfit either for horse or carriage, being cut up by the canals, which are extremely numerous and run in all directions. The king's object was to supply Nile water to the inhabitants of the towns situated in the mid-country, and not lying upon the river." [1]

According to Herodotus, it was after this introduction of numerous canals that Sesostris "made a division of the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning square plots of ground of equal size to all." [2] He was, as it were, the first founder or introducer of a Town-Planning Act. Herodotus thought, that it was "from this practice, that Geometry first came to be known in Egypt, whence it passed into Greece." [3] We know that the proverb-like words, "There is no royal road to learning," were derived from the words of Euclid used in Egypt, while going over a special royal route to the palace, in conversation with one of its kings, who asked him to devise some method of learning Geometry shortly or easily. He said in reply: "There is no royal road to learn Geometry."

The Suez Canal, which forms the subject proper of this paper, was one of such canals in Egypt. Of all the Egyptian canals, this canal has, under different names in the different parts of its length, a long history of nearly 4,000 years. The history of this canal must begin with the history or with an account of the Isthmus of Suez, on a part of which the ancient canal was dug and on which the modern canal runs.

III.

The Isthmus of Suez. Its Physico-Geographical condition.

The Physical Geography of the Isthmus of Suez shows, that the Isthmus was, at one time, covered with sea-water. The seas on both the sides—the Mediterranean and the Red—gradually receded and an Isthmus was formed. The attempts of Man have, therefore, tried to restore the country to, as it were, its original primitive natural state. In old historic times, the Red Sea ended, not at Suez as at present, but higher up at Serapium, where a gulf, called the Gulf of Heropolite, was formed. I give, at the end of this paper, a map of the canal, as reproduced from the one given by M. Menant in his "Stèle de Chalouf." The plan shows, not only the position of a large part of the present canal, but also the position of the old canals of the Egyptian Neco and Persian Darius. The gulf is shown on this map. When the waters of the Red Sea

[1] Herodotus, Bk. II., 108. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 178.
[2] *Ibid.*, Bk. II, 109. Vol. II, p. 179.
[3] *Ibid.*

receded, the gulf gradually turned into a lake. This lake is, what is now known as, the Bitter Lake and is situated well nigh in the middle of the canal. Between this lake, which was once a gulf, and the Red Sea, there remained for some time a narrow water-way, but that also was filled up subsequently. By the process of evaporation, and by gradual reclamation by the sand of the surrounding slippery banks and by the sand brought in there by the waves, the lake became shallow and shallower. An occasional big sea-wave from the Red Sea, raised at high tide by the force of winds, forced itself towards the lake and added to its depth; but the more frequent process of evaporation and natural reclamation did its work, and made the lake shallow. The alternate strata of sandy soil and some marine animals show the alternate continuation of this state of affairs in ancient times.

Coming to historical times, we find that the site of the canal, more than once formed an isthmus. It was an isthmus in the time of the very early kings of Egypt. Then, in the time of Neco, its physico-geographical state was changed and it was no longer a perfect isthmus. Then again, in the time of Darius I of the Achæmenian kings of Persia, it assumed the form of a strait or a canal. Then again it reverted to its ancient natural position of an isthmus. Thus Trajan, the Roman king, is said to have again tried to turn its geographical condition. Thus attempts were more than once made to turn the isthmus into a strait or canal, though not always successfully.

The Isthmus of Suez, according to Strabo.

Strabo, while defending Homer against the criticisms made in his time, doubting the truth of the poet's statements, excuses some of the statements, on the ground of their being "fictions,—not the offspring of ignorance,—but for the sake of giving pleasure and enjoyment" [1], and justifies others as true. Among the latter class is included the statement, that Homer's Menelaus "went by sea to Ethiopia." [2] He says: "They who assert that Menelaus went by sea to Ethiopia, tell us he directed his course, past Cadiz into the Indian ocean; [3] with which, say they, the long duration of his wanderings agrees, since he did not arrive there till the eighth year. Others, that he passed through the isthmus [4] which enters the Arabian Gulf; and others

[1] Bk. I, Chap. II, 30. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation (1854), Vol. I, p. 59.

[2] *Ibid*, Chap. II, 31, p. 60.

[3] "That is to say, that he made the entire circuit of Africa, starting from Cardiz, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope. Such was the opinion of Crates. ....Menelaus left the Mediterranean and entered the Atlantic, whence he could easily travel by sea into Ethiopia." (*Ibid* n. 5).

[4] "The Isthmus of Suez. This isthmus they supposed to be covered by the sea, as Strabo explains further on." (*Ibid* n. 6).

again, through one of the canals. . . . . As to the navigation of the isthmus, or one of the canals, if it had been related by Homer himself, we should have counted it a myth, but as he does not relate it, we regard it as entirely extravagant and unworthy of belief. We say unworthy of belief, because at the time of the Trajan war no canal [1] was in existence. It is recorded that Sesostris, who had planned the formation of one, apprehending that the level of the sea was too high to admit of it, desisted from the undertaking." [2]

In another place,[3] Strabo, while saying that Homer was in ignorance of Egypt, Libya (Africa), the risings of the Nile and the Isthmus (Isthmus of Suez), speaks of it (the isthmus) as "separating the Red Sea from the Egyptian Sea." Here we find that he speaks of the Mediterranean as the Egyptian Sea.

The ancient route across Egypt via Heroopolis (near Suez).

According to Strabo [4], the shortest route across Egypt was "towards Heroopolis (near Suez), to which from Pelusium (branch of the Nile) is the shortest road (between the two seas)." Heroopolis is spoken of as "situated in that recess of the Arabian Gulf which is on the side of the Nile." [5] "Arabian Gulf" is here another name of the Erythræn Sea, now known as the Red Sea. The modern Bay of Suez was the ancient bay of Heroopolis. [6]

IV.

Classical Authors.

We will now see, what the ancient classical authors have said about this ancient water way. Before we proceed to do so, in order to follow the old nomenclature about the seas, let us note that the two seas were variously named by the ancients.

The ancient names of the two seas connected by the canal.

The canal connected the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. The Mediterranean Sea was known among the ancients as the Northern Sea, while the Red Sea was spoken of as the Southern Sea or the Erythræn Sea. [7] The Red Sea is spoken of by Arab writers as Daryâ-i-Kalzoum (دریاي قلزم [8]). It is so called from the name

[1] That is to say, the canal on the Isthmus of Suez connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea.

[2] Strabo, Bk. I, Chap. II, 31. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. I, pp. 60-61.

[3] Bk. VII, Chap. III, 6. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. I, p. 458.

[4] Bk. XVI, Chap. II, 30. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 176.

[5] *Ibid*, XVI, Chap. IV, 2, p. 189. *Vide* also *Ibid*, XVII, Chap. III, 20, p. 291. "The recess of the Arabian Gulf." is the Gulf of Suez (*Ibid*, p. 291, n. 1).

Ibid, Vol. III., p. 203, n. 3.

[7] Herodotus, Bk. II, 158. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 244.

[8] The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal by Ousley (1800), p. 4.

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of the city of Kalzoum situated on the west coast of the Red Sea on the south of Suez. [1] The Mediterranean Sea is spoken of by Arab Geographers as Daryâ-i-Roum (دریاي روم [2]).

Herodotus.

Though Herodotus speaks of Sesostris, as the first Egyptian king who gave a number of canals to the Egyptians, he does not, like Pliny, as we will see later on, credit him with a first attempt for the canal connecting the Red and the Mediterranean seas. He attributes the first attempt to Neco or Necos, the son of Psammetichus. He says : "This Prince was the first to attempt the construction of the canal to the Red Sea,—a work completed afterward by Darius the Persian,—the length of which is four days' journey, and the width such as to admit of two triremes being rowed along it abreast. The water is derived from the Nile, which the canal leaves a little above the city of Bubastis, near Patumûs, the Arabian town, being continued thence until it joins the Red Sea. At first it is carried along the Arabian side of the Egyptian plain, as far as the chain of hills opposite Memphis, whereby the plain is bounded, and in which lie the great stone quarries ; here it skirts the base of the hills running in a direction from west to east ; after which it turns, and enters a narrow pass, trending southwards from this point until it enters the Arabian Gulf. From the northern sea to that which is called the southern or Erythræn,[3] the shortest and quickest passage, which is from Mount Casius, the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Gulf of Arabia, is a distance of exactly one thousand furlongs. But the way by the canal is very much longer, on account of the crookedness of its course. A hundred and twenty thousand of the Egyptians, employed upon the work in the reign of Necos, lost their lives in making the excavation. He at length desisted from his undertaking, in consequence of an oracle which warned him 'that he was labouring for the barbarian.' The Egyptians call by the name of barbarians all such as speak a language different from their own. Necos, when he gave up the construction of the canal, turned all his thoughts to war." [4]

Herodotus refers to the abovesaid attempt of Neco later on also.[5] He also refers again to the successful attempt of Darius. Referring to the Arabian Gulf, he says, that therein, "Darius conducted the canal which he made from the Nile."[6]

[1] *Vide Ibid.* Map in the front, and also p. 13.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 6.
[3] The Red Sea.
[4] Herodotus, Bk. II, 158. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, pp. 242-45.
[5] Bk. IV, 42. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 34.
[6] *Ibid* IV, 39, p. 32.

The statement of Herodotus about the successful attempt of Darius must be taken as authoritative, because he speaks of what he himself saw. He was in Egypt about 30 years after the death of Darius, and he saw the canal working. He speaks of the canal in the present tense.

Aristotle.

Aristotle was the first to say that Sesostris had planned a canal over the land of the Isthmus of Suez. According to him, his (Sesostris') plan was to connect the Mediterranean and the Red Seas *via* the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. He wanted to take advantage of the river Nile for nearly half the distance and then to connect the Red Sea with the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

Strabo.

Strabo[1], in his account of Egypt (Book XVII), while speaking of canals, thus refers to the Suez Canal: "There is another canal also, which empties itself into the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf, near the city Arsinoe, which some call Cleopatris.[2] It flows through the Bitter Lakes, as they are called, which were bitter formerly, but when the above-mentioned canal was cut, the bitter quality was altered by their junction with the river, and at present they contain excellent fish, and abound with aquatic birds.

"The canal was first cut by Sesostris before the Trojan times, but according to other writers, by the son[3] of Psammiticus, who only began the work, and afterwards died; lastly, Darius the first, succeeded to the completion of the undertaking, but he desisted from continuing the work, when it was nearly finished, influenced by an erroneous opinion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than Egypt, and that if the whole of the intervening isthmus were cut through, the country would be overflowed by the sea. The Ptolemaic kings, however, did cut through it, and placed locks upon the canal, so that they sailed, when they pleased, without obstruction into the outer sea, and back again (into the canal).

. . . . "Near Arsinoe are situated in the recess of the Arabian Gulf towards Egypt, Heroopolis and Cleopatris; harbours, suburbs, many canals and lakes are also near. There also is the Phagroriopolite Nome, and the city of Phagroriopolis. The canal which empties itself into the Red Sea, begins at the village Phaccusa, to which the village of Philon is contiguous. The canal is 100 cubits broad, and its depth sufficient to float a vessel of large burden. These places are near the apex of the Delta."

[1] Bk. XVII, Chapter I, 25. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, pp. 243-44.

[2] It is the modern Suez. (Ibid. p. 243, n. 2).

[3] Pharaoh Necho. (Ibid. p. 244, n. 1).

Diodorus Seculus.

Diodorus Seculus, who lived in the first century before Christ, thus refers to the canal: "They have made a canal of communication which goes from the Pelusiac Gulf to the Red Sea. Necos, son of Psammeticus commenced it (and) Darius, king of Persia, continued the work; but he stopped it, following the advice of some Engineers, who told him, that on digging the ground, he will inundate Egypt which was found to be lower than the Red Sea. Ptolemy II, did not let the enterprise to be finished, but he got placed over the most favourable place in the canal, some very ingeniously contrived barriers or sluices which they open when they want to pass through and shut afterwards immediately. It is for this reason that the river takes the name of Ptolemy in the canal which empties itself in the sea at the place where the city of Arsinoe is built."[1]

Pliny.

Pliny, while describing the Geography of the gulfs of the Red Sea, thus speaks on the subject of the canal :—

"We then come to the nation of the Tyri, and the port of the Danei, from which place an attempt has been made to form a navigable canal to the river Nile, at the spot where it enters the Delta previously mentioned, the distance between the river and the Red Sea being sixty-two miles. This was contemplated first of all by Sesostris, king of Egypt, afterwards by Darius, king of the Persians, and still later by Ptolemy II,[2] who also made a canal, one hundred feet in width and forty deep, extending a distance of thirty-seven miles and a half, as far as the Bitter Springs. He was deterred from proceeding any further with this work by apprehensions of an inundation, upon finding that the Red Sea was three cubits[3] higher than the land in the interior of Egypt. Some writers, however, do not allege this as the cause, but say that his reason was, a fear lest, in consequence of introducing the sea, the water of the Nile might be spoilt, that being the only source from which the Egyptians obtain water for drinking."[4]

The omission of the name of Seti I by Classical Writers.

All the Classical authors, named above, have begun with the names of either Sesostris (Rameses II) or Neco. But, as said by Sir G. Wilkinson, the ruins on the bank of the old canal show, that the canal already existed in some form in the time of Rameses II. That being the case, the name of Seti I, who ruled before Rameses II, is

[1] I give my Translation from the French Translation of M. L'Abbé Terrasson (1753) Tome Premier, pp. 54-55. Diodorus Seculus, Livre I, Section I, XIX. This portion of Diodorus is referred to by other writers as Bk. I, 33.

[2] "Ptolemy Philadelphus, son of Ptolemy Soter or Lagides."

[3] 4½ feet.

[4] Pliny, Natural History, Bk. VI, Chap. 33, Bostock and Riley's Translation, Vol. II, p. 92.

suggested on the authority of recent discoveries as that of the first Egyptian king, who may have possibly built at least a part of the canal. M. Maspero refers to a monument of this kind.[1]

The summary of the different statements of the different Classical Authors.

We see from the above statements of the different Classical authors, that they vary, as to who it was who first successfully completed the canal. Their different statements can be summed up as follows :—

Herodotus.—(*a*) Neco (about B. C. 615) attempted the construction of the canal. About 12,000 Egyptians died on the work. At last he desisted from further work in consequence of an oracle which said that he was labouring for the barbarian.

(*b*) Darius completed the canal, of which the length was 4 days' journey, and width sufficient to admit two triremes abreast. The water of the Nile was admitted at Bubastis.

Aristotle.—Sesostris planned the canal.

Strabo.—(*a*) Sesostris (Rameses II) planned it.

(*b*) Some said Neco began it, but died before completing it.

(*c*) Darius succeeded to complete it, but desisted to open it on account of the erroneous opinion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than the land of Egypt.

(*d*) Ptolemian kings cut it, using locks to prevent inundation from the Red Sea.

Diodorus Seculus.—(*a*) Neco commenced it.

(*b*) Darius continued it, but desisted through fear, lest the Red Sea, being higher in level, may run over the country.

(*c*) Plotemy II finished it with sluices. From his name the canal is called Plotemy's canal.

Pliny.—(*a*) Sesostris contemplated it.

(*b*) Then Darius contemplated it.

(*c*) Ptolemy made the canal 100 feet in width, 40 feet in depth, 37½ miles in length. But he was deterred from opening it through the fear of (*a*) inundating the country and (*b*) spoiling the water of the Nile.

[1] "Un monument du temps de Seti Ier nous montre le canal en activité dés avant Ramesis II. Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient par Maspero, Septièmme édition of 1905, p. 270, n, 7.

V.

Doubts on the authenticity of the statement of Herodotus.

All the vestiges of the canal of Darius, referred to by Herodotus, Strabo and Diodorus, having been lost, some began to doubt the statements. For example, though Herodotus has distinctly stated that Darius had built the canal, subsequent classical authors, though admitting that he built it, added, that he desisted from completing it through some fear of inundating the country with the water of the Nile. Again, as late as 1854, the translators of Strabo—Hamilton and Falconer—said: "About a century after Necho, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, made the undertaking, but desisted under the false impression that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the Mediterranean."[1]

The divergence between Herodotus and other writers and the so-called difficulties explained.

As to the question, who was the very first king of Egypt who first dug the Suez Canal completely, or to speak more correctly, who first completed the connection of the Red and the Mediterranean seas, the statements of different classical scholars vary, as seen above.

Sir J. G. Wilkinson[2] thus explains the divergence of statements:—"Herodotus says Neco (or Necōs) began the canal, and Strabo attributes it to 'Psammiticus, his son'; but the ruins on its banks show that it already existed in the time of Remeses II, and that the statement of Aristotle, Strabo and Pliny, who ascribe its commencement at least to Sesostris[3] is founded on fact. That from its sandy site it would require frequent re-excavating is very evident, and these successive operations may have given to the different kings by whom they were performed the credit of *commencing* the canal. It is certainly inconsistent to suppose that the Egyptians (who of all the people had the greatest experience in making canals, and who even to the late time of Nero, were the people consulted about cutting through the isthmus of Corinth-Lucian) should have been obliged to wait for its completion till the accession of the Ptolemies. The authority of Herodotus suffices to prove that it was completed in his time to the Red Sea; and the monuments of Remeses at a town on its banks prove that it existed in his reign. Neco may have discontinued the re-opening of it; Darius may have completed it, as Herodotus states, both here (Book. II. 158) and in Book IV, Chap. 39; and it may have been re-opened and improved by the Ptolemies and again by the Arabs."

[1] "The Geography of Strabo, translated by Hamilton and Falconer (1854) p. 61, n. 3.

[2] Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 242, n. 2.

[3] Or Ramses II.

The so-called difficulty of sluices.

M. Ménant also meets the doubts raised on the ground of the want of sufficient engineering skill in the time of Darius. He says :

"When we can prove to-day the existence of great works of canalization which have been accomplished since the 20th century before Jesus Christ in Egypt and Chaldea, one cannot say that the engineers of the time of Darius did not know the process of the sluices."[1]

The so-called difficulty of Darius in the matter of the level.

Some Classical writers subsequent to Herodotus said, that Darius left the canal unfinished on account of the difficulty of the level of the Red Sea being higher than that of the land where the canal ran. The same difficulty is said to have, later on, deterred Ptolemy from completing it. The difficulty was not real, and even if it existed, it was one which could be easily surmounted in those times which were not without their irrigation experts. Wilkinson thus disposes of this supposed difficulty.

"The difference of 13 feet between the levels of the Red Sea and Mediterranean is now proved to be an error. Pliny says, that Ptolemy desisted from the work, finding the Red Sea was 3 cubits ($4\frac{1}{2}$ feet) higher than the land of Egypt ; but, independent of our knowing that it was already finished in Herodotus' time, it is obvious that a people accustomed to sluices, and every contrivance necessary for water of various levels, would not be deterred by this, or a far greater, difference in the height of the sea and the Nile, and Diodorus expressly states that sluices were constructed at its mouth. If so, these were on account of the different levels, which varied materially at high and low Nile, and at each tide, of 5 to 6 feet, in the Red Sea, and to prevent the sea-water from tainting that of the canal. The city of Eels, Phagroriopolis, was evidently founded on its banks to insure the maintenance of the canal. The place of the sluices appears to be traceable near Suez, where a channel in the rock has been cut, to form the mouth of the canal."[2]

The connection of the canal in different places.

We saw above, that according to different Classical authors, the Red Sea was connected by different kings with the Mediterranean through the Nile. But it was not at the same place on the Nile that the different kings connected the canal with the river. Sir J. G. Wilkinson says on this point :

[1] Lorsque nous pouvons constater aujourd'hui les grands travaux de canalisation qui ont été accomplis dés le XX siécle av. J. C. en Egypt et en Chaldée, on ne saurait dire que les ingénieurs de l'époque de Darius ne connaissaient pas les procédés des écluses ? (La Stèle de Chalouf, p. 10).

[2] Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 243, n. 4.

"The commencement of the Red Sea Canal was in different places at various periods. In the time of Herodotus, it left the Pelusiac branch, a little above Bubastis; it was afterwards supplied with water by the Amnis Trajanus, which left the Nile at Babylon (near old Cairo), and the portion of it that remains now begins a short distance from Belbays, which is about 11 miles south of Bubastis. Strabo must be wrong in saying it was at Phacusa, which is too low down the stream."[1]

VI.

The dynasties of the different builders and repairers. The early Egyptian kings.

Let us here take a brief look into the history of the ancient ruling dynasties of Egypt, so that we may thereby better understand the times of the different builders and repairers of the Canal. Leaving aside the very remote periods, Egypt was governed, about 2000 years before the Christian era, by a line of kings, known as "the Shepherd Kings," who belonged to the shepherd tribes that had gone to Egypt from Chaldea and Phœnecia. They founded the 17th dynasty of the rulers of Egypt. Rameses II, supposed to be known as Sesostris by the Greeks, ruled in the 14th century before Christ. He belonged to the 19th dynasty. He is said to have made an attempt to convert the Mediterranean and the Red seas *via* a branch of the Nile, but failed. Neco, who was more successful in building the canal, ruled in Egypt in the 7th century B. C. His canal began at Bubastis and finished at Heroopolis upto which the Red Sea then ran. His canal is said to have still left some traces of its existence.

The Persian dynasty in Egypt.

The Persians formed the 27th ruling dynasty of Egypt.[2] Cyrus the Great, who fought against, and subdued, Crœsus of Lydia, was enraged against Amesis II, of Egypt, because he had sympathised with Crœsus. So, his son Cambyses, who was known by the Egyptians as Mesutra Kambathet, invaded Egypt, to avenge the wrong done to his father. He conquered Egypt and became the first king of the 27th dynasty. The ancient town of Cambysu, situated on the Gulf of Suez, derived its name for Cambyses, because he founded the city to keep there the invalids of his army.[3] His policy in Egypt was, like that of his father Cyrus, that of toleration. He got his name written in the cartouche, a fact symbolising his sovereignty. After him, there ruled in Egypt his successors, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Darius II (Darius Nothas), Artaxerxes II. The Egyptians then overthrew the Persian rule and

[1] Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4.

[2] A History of the Egyptian people by Budge, p. 144. *Vide* pp. 144-49, for the Persian kings of Egypt.

[3] Pliny's Bk. VI, Chap. 33. Bostock and Rile's Translation, Vol. II, p. 92.

became independent. After a few years, Artaxerxes III (Ochus), reconquered Egypt in 340 B. C. Then, Alexander the Great defeated his successor Darius and conquered Egypt. Afterwards during the rule of the Romans, during the reign of Anastasius I (A. D. 491 to 518), the Persians again invaded Egypt (A. D. 502-5), but they did not remain there long. On being paid a ransom, they restored Egypt to Anastasius.

The Persians, the Middlemen between the West and the East.

Mr. Dalton, while speaking of the influence of Persian Art upon the Western Byzantine Empire, says that "the Persians were the middlemen who traded with the Farther East; they introduced figured silk textiles into the Byzantine Empire."[1] But, it seems, that Persia supplied its people as middlemen in trade even before the flourishing times of the Byzantine Empire.

Darius and India.

Darius the Great, had a great hand in making Persians the middlemen in trade with the Further East. He was the first Persian monarch who aimed at the advancement of the knowledge of Geography during his various military expeditions. He had ordered his admiral, Scylax, to sail down the Indus from Cashmere and Punjab to the Arabian Sea and then to sail across the coast to Persia. This exploring naval expedition seems to have had for its object the development of trade between India and the West.

Thus, it is natural that Darius, wanting to develop trade between the East and the West, should undertake the work of a great canal in his newly conquered country of Egypt.

Ptolemies. Ptolemy II.

Some writers say, that Ptolemy II (about B. C. 270) was the first Egyptian king, who completed the canal. We see from our above examination of the statements of old Classical authors, that this is not correct. As said by M. Ménant, he only repaired the canal which had fallen out of use by being filled up with silt. There was a further change before his time in the geographical condition of that part of the Red Sea, and that change had led to its disuse. When Queen Cleopatra (about B. C. 30) wanted to take her ships down the Red Sea through the canal, she could not do so, as the canal was silted up.

The Romans. The Canal in the times of Trajan and Hadrian.

The canal, as completed by Darius and repaired by Ptolemy II (Ptolemy Philadelphus) and by some subsequent rulers of Egypt, existed in the times of the Roman Emperors Trajan (A. D. 98-117) and Hadrian (A. D. 117-138).

[1] "Byzantine Art and Archæology," by O. M. Dalton, p. 54.

The Calips. The canal in the times of Caliphs Omar and Al-Mansour Abou Gafer.

The canal, which was open till the time of the Roman occupation of Egypt, was latterly silted. The silt was removed and the canal was repaired and reopened by Caliph Omar, who saw the necessity of doing so, in order to send Egyptian corn to Arabia. His services in this direction were recognized by the Mahomedan community by conferring upon him the title of Amiru-'l-mu'-minin, *i.e.*, Commander of the Faithful. This title, enjoyed by all the subsequent Khalifs, had an origin in this event. Omar got this work done in Hijri 20, *i.e.*, 640 A. D. through Amron-Ben-Al.-As.[1]

One Caliph re-opened the canal for feeding his co-religionists, and another Caliph closed it for starving his co-religionists who happened to oppose him. It is said, that the second Abasside Caliph al-Mansour Abou Gâfer or Abou-Giafer-al-Mansour, who ruled in Persia, got this canal closed in 770 A.D. about 134 years after Caliph Omar. He had a quarrel with one of the descendents of Ali, who possessed Medina. This descendent drew his supply of corn from Egypt *via* this canal. The Caliph therefore asked his Governor in Egypt to close the canal, so that no grain could go from Egypt through the canal to Medina. The canal thus filled up has never been re-opened and the subsequent ravages of time and weather have left only traces here and there of its former existence.[2] One faint attempt was latterly made to make it navigable. That was done by Al-Hakim in A. D. 1000. This was done for a passage of small boats, but that even, not along the whole line to the Red Sea. Mahomed Ali[3] shut it up altogether.[4]

The Arabian and Mahomedan names of Suez.

The old Arabian name of Suez was Soea.[5] Later Mahomedan authors speak of the Gulf of Suez as Bahr-el-Soueys, *i.e.*, the Sea of Suez.[6] The old Greek name of the city whose site is now occupied by modern Suez was Arsinoe.[7]

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[1] Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 243, n.4. La Stèle de Chalouf, par M Ménant, p. 10.

[2] La Stéle de Chalouf, par M. Ménant, p. 10. Sir J. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II., 243, n. 4.

[3] Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 243, n. 4.

[4] The above Caliph Al-Mansour Abou Gâfar seems to be the Abu Jafur of the Pahlavi Shatroi-hâ-Airân (s. 60.) *Vide* my Aiyádgár-i-Zarirán, Shatroiha-i-Airân, &c., p. 121.

[5] Pliny, Bk. VI, Chap. 33. Bostock and Riley's Translation, Vol. II, p. 92.

[6] Pliny, Bostock and Riley's Edition, Vol, I, p. 423, n. 1.

[7] Pliny, Bk. v, Chap. 13. *Ibid*, p. 423, n. 6.

VII.

Some recent discoveries about the canal of Darius.

We have referred above to some recent scholars who have tried to explain the divergence between Herodotus and other classical writers, and who have replied to the objections raised against the successful attempts of Darius. We will now refer to some recent discoveries of the stelæ or pillars of king Darius near the site of the modern canal, which settle, once for all, the doubts about the statement of Herodotus, *viz.*, that Darius had completed the canal.

The practice of Darius to erect commemorative columns.

It was the practice of the Achæmenian Kings of Persia to inscribe on stones some events of their reign. The oldest inscription of that kind hitherto discovered is that of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the dynasty, and the latest is that of Artaxerxes Ochus.

Darius the Great was most known for such inscriptions. He inscribed both on the sides of mountains and on columns. Among his mountain inscriptions, the best known is that on the rock of the mountain Behistun [*lit.* the place (*stana*) of God (baga)], a rock rising perpendicularly from the plain to a height of about 1,700 ft. In this inscription, he gives, as it were, his short autobiography, describing the principal events of his reign. He was fond of erecting stelæ or pillars in the countries which he conquered. On these pillars he inscribed the principal deeds which he accomplished. For example, we learn from Herodotus, that during his expedition against Scythia, in his march to the Istri, he built his pillars on the Bosphorus. Herodotus[1] says: "He likewise surveyed the Bosphorus, and erected upon its shores two pillars of white marble, whereupon he inscribed the names of all the nations which formed his army,—on the one pillar in Greek, on the other in Assyrian characters. [2]

[1] Bk. IV, 87, Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 80.

[2] Herodotus mistakes the Persian for Assyrian. George Rawlinson corrects him in his following observations: "It was natural that the Persians who set up trilingual inscriptions in the central provinces for the benefit of their Arian, Semetic, and Tatar populations, should leave bilingual records in other places. Thus in Egypt they would have their inscriptions in the hieroglyphic as well as the Persian character, of which the vase in St. Mark's, at Venice, is a specimen. In Greece they would use, besides their own, the Greek language and character. Herodotus, however, is no doubt inaccurate when he speaks here of *Assyrian* letters. The language and character used in the inscription would be the Persian, and not the Assyrian. But as moderns, till recently, have been accustomed to speak of the *cuneiform language*, not distinguishing between one sort of cuneiform writing and another, so, Herodotus appears to have been ignorant that in the arrow-headed inscriptions which he saw, both the letters and the languages varied. There are, in point of fact, at least six different types of cuneiform writing, *viz.*, the old Scythic, Babylonian, the Susianian, the Armenian, the Scythic of the trilingual tablets, the Assyrian, and the Achæmenian Persian. Of these the first four are to a certain extent connected; but the Assyrian and Achæmenian Persian differ totally from them and from each other (Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 80, n. 5).

". . . . Some time afterwards, the Byzantines removed these pillars to their own city, and used them for an altar which they erected to Orthesian Diana.[1] One block remained behind : it lay near the temple of Bacchus at Byzantium and was covered with Assyrian writing. The spot where Darius bridged the Bosphorus was, I think, but I speak only from conjecture, half way between the city of Byzantium and the temple at the mouth of the strait.

" Darius was so pleased with the bridge thrown across the strait by the Samian Mandrocles, that he not only bestowed upon him all the customary presents, but gave him ten of every kind. Mandrocles, by way of offering first fruits from these presents, caused a picture to be painted which showed the whole of the bridge, with King Darius sitting in a seat of honour and his army engaged in the passage. This painting he dedicated in the temple of Juno at Samos, attaching to it the inscription following :—

' The fish-fraught Bosphorus bridged, to Juno's fane
Did Mandrocles this proud memorial bring ;
When for himself a crown he'd, skill to gain,
For Samos praise, contesting the Great King.

" Such was the memorial of his work which was left by the architect of the bridge."

The discovery of two Parseipolitan monuments near the canal at the end of the eighteenth century.

Following his above practice, Darius had erected several pillars in Egypt to commemorate his achievement of digging successfully the canal connecting the Red and the Mediterranean seas. Relics of several such monuments were found near the modern Suez Canal. M. Ménant, in his learned and interesting paper, entitled, La Stéle de Chalouf, refers to their discoveries.

It was in 1799, that a pillar was for the first time discovered by M. Rozièrre on the north of Suez, at about 6½ hours' march from it. M. Rozièrre had, when he saw the pillar, copied as a specimen a few words of the inscription. These words read : Daryavus Khshäyathiya vazarka, *i.e.*, Darius the great king.

M. Devilliers, who accompanied M. Rozièrre in the expedition of Egypt from France, had come across the relic of another Parseipolitan pillar near Serapium.

[1] " That is, Diana, who had established or preserved their City." (*Ibid* n. 6.)

For nearly more than half a century, the subject of the discovery of the Parseipolitan monuments of Darius near the present canal was forgotten. But in 1866, it was again revived. The operations of M. Lesseps for digging the modern canal, the rough idea of which was first conceived by Napoleon I, revived the subject.

The discovery of the third monument of Darius in the canal. The pillar of Chalouf.

In March 1866, the attention of M. Charles de Lesseps, the son of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, was, while looking after the work of digging the present Suez Canal, drawn to a Parseipolitan monument near the village of Chalouf. He sent a sketch of one of the stones of the monument, drawn by the Suez Canal Company's doctor, M. Terrier, to Paris, to M. Mariette, who thereupon asked for further information and particulars. So, M. Fred. de Lesseps sent his son Charles de Lesseps with the Canal Company's two other officers to the spot to make further researches. M. Charles de Lesseps carried on the work of excavation. He found that some of the blocks of stone were blackened by fire, which some one had, at one time, ignited under the shadow of the pillar. He found some blocks with cuneiform inscriptions and some with Egyptian hieroglyphics. He took to the village of Chalouf those blocks that could be easily carried and covered again with earth those, about 15, that could not be carried away easily, so that they may be preserved from destruction.

M. Mariette then sent M. Luigi Vassalli to take prints or stamps of the fragments that were collected and to make further report after further observations.

Discovery of three more monuments.

In June 1866, M. Fred. de Lesseps communicated to M. Mariette the discovery of the relics of two other Parseipolitan monuments, one of which was near Serapium.

In July 1887, M. E. Naville communicated to M. Ménant the news of the discovery of another monument at Tell-el-Maskhutah, about 18 kilometers from Ismailia.

Thus we have in all references to six monuments. But M. Ménant thinks that the one referred to by M. Fred de Lesseps, as found at Serapium, is, perhaps, the same as that referred to above, as found by M. Devilliers in about 1799. From the different positions of the monuments, M. Ménant thinks, that Darius's monuments were on both the banks of his canal. Writing in 1887, about 20 years after the discovery of the monuments seen by M. Fred. de Lesseps while digging the Suez Canal, M. Ménant expressed a fear, that the monuments may not

be in the same condition, as they were in, when seen in 1866. Now in 1915 their condition must be much more worse.

Of all these, the one found at Chalouf, was the only one which had, when discovered, presented itself in a comparatively pretty good state to be examined and deciphered. Its condition at present must be perhaps bad. Some of the fragments of this column are, as said above, preserved at the village of Chalouf, but of others that were again covered over with sand by M. F. de Lessep's, one cannot say what their present condition is.

Value of the discovery of the monument of Chalouf.

The discovery of the monument of Chalouf has a historical value, because its inscription determines the question, whether Darius had successfully completed the canal or not. Herodotus said, that he did. As said above, as he had travelled in Egypt a few years after the death of Darius, he must have seen the canal working. So, his statement must be authoritative. But the statements of other classical writers after him threw some doubts upon the veracity of his assertion. This inscription, which commemorates Darius's work of the canal, confirms the statement of Herodotus and decides the question that Darius did complete the canal successfully.

VIII.

The Text and the Translation of the Chalouf Inscription.

M. Mènant has given in his paper, La Stéle de Chalouf, the Text of the Inscription, as deciphered by him, from the sketch received in Paris. I give here the translation from his French translation :

"Ormuzd is a great God ; He has created the Heaven ; He has created this Earth ; He has created Man ; He has given to man good-principle (*Siatish*) ; He has made Darius king ; He has given to king Darius a great Empire.

"I am Darius, great king, king of kings, king of these countries (well populated), king of this vast land, who commands afar and near, son of Hystaspes of the Achimenedes.

"Darius, the king, says : I am a Parsi (Persian) ; (As a) Persian, I govern Egypt. I have ordered to dig this canal starting from the Nile ; it is the name of the river which runs in Egypt up to the sea which comes from Persia.

"Thus the canal has been dug here.

I have ordered this canal and I have said: Commence from . . . . this canal up to the shores of the sea . . . . Such is my wish."

The latter part of the inscription is much mutilated. But the first part is well preserved. It appears, that this first part of the inscription of this great worshipper of Ahura Mazda is in line with a passage of the Avesta. The first part of the inscription on the monument, as given by M. Ménant, runs thus:

An Avesta parallel of a part of the inscription.

Baga vazarka Aura mazdaâ hiya açmânam adâ hya imâm bumim adaâ hya martiyam adâ

Translation—Ormuzd is a great God. He has created the Heaven. He has created this Earth. He has created Man.

Now compare this with the following words of yaçna (Chap. XXXVII, 1,) which form the daily Parsee prayer to say grace at meals.

Ithâ âṭ yazamaidê Ahurem Mazdâm yé gâmchâ ashemchâ dât apaschâ dât uravrâoschâ vanghuhish raochaschâ dât bumimchâ vispâchâ vôhû.

Translation.—We thus invoke here Ahura Mazda, who created animals and corn, who created water, good trees and light, who created earth and all good things.

IX.

I have referred above to the help given by the Lesseps, father and son, to the cause of the discovery of the monuments of Darius. It was while working at the excavation of the present Canal, that they and the other officers of the Suez Canal Company came across the relics of the monuments. So, I will finish my paper by a very brief account of the present successful attempt of the Suez Canal, hoping that it would interest many at the present juncture of war, when the Canal is one of the seats of fight between the belligerents.

A brief History of the Modern Canal.

Napoleon Bonaparte, who is spoken of as semi-Alexander for his attempts and aims at what is now spoken of as World-empire, was drawn towards Egypt by well-nigh the same view with which Alexander the Great and Darius the Great were drawn, *viz.*, to be master of the East as well as of the West.

The first conception of the Modern Canal by Napoleon.

It is said, that it was he (Napoleon), who first conceived the idea of connecting the Mediterranean and the Red seas by a canal of the

modern type. At the end of the 18th century, he had asked M. Lepire, a great Engineer, to submit a scheme, but that movement had no result. It is now said, that, even had Napoleon succeeded in digging the Suez Canal, his enterprize would have been a great financial failure, because his were the times of sailing ships, which would not have dared to withstand the difficulties of the shoals, calms and contrary winds met with in the canal. They were not the times of steamers which have the steam power to control these difficulties. The old route between Europe and India, *viz.*, that *via* the Cape of Good Hope was 11,739 miles, but the present route *via* the Suez Canal is 7,628 miles. Still, the sailing ships of Napoleon's time would have preferred the long circuitous way of the Cape of Good Hope to the comparative more risky passage of the Suez Canal.

For various reasons Napoleon's conception of the canal did not take any practical shape. In 1830, General Chesney of England is said to have made a favourable report of the practicability of the canal, and said, that it can be built by any one nation. But it was left to M. Lesseps to undertake the work. He matured the scheme during the period of 1849 to 1854. On 30th November 1854, Mahomed Said, the then Pasha or Khedive of Egypt, asked M. Lesseps to form a Commission to float a Universal Suez Canal Company.

M. Lesseps appointed a Commission of Engineers to design the Canal, and of Directors to float the Company. The Commission met in 1855 and finished its work in 1856. They considered over the different systems of canals.

Modern Canals are of three kinds :—

" (*a*) Canals with locks to raise boats from one level to another.

(*b*) Canals in low-lying districts with an uniform level from one end to another. When connected with the sea, they have works at both ends defending them against encroachments by the sea.

(*c*) Canals without locks and having unchecked communication with the sea."

The Suez Canal, as it is constructed now, is of the third class. It draws its water both from the Mediterranean and the Red seas, whose levels are nearly equal.

The English Engineers of the above Commission preferred the first class, *viz.*, one with locks, suggesting that the canal itself may be about 25 feet above the sea level. The foreign engineers preferred the

third class, suggesting the level of 27 feet below sea level. In June 1856, the recommendation of the foreign Engineers was approved. When the Company was floated, half the number of shares were taken by the Pasha (Khedive) of Egypt. The other half were taken by others, among whom the principal portion was held by the French. The work commenced in 1860. Among the conditions arranged with the Pasha, were the following :—

"(*a*) That side by side with the canal there must be built a fresh water canal for the workmen.

(*b*) That the Pasha was to supply forced labour for the canal.

(*c*) That the land on the banks of the canal may belong to the Company."

After the work commenced, the Pasha of Egypt asked Sir John Hawkshaw to make a report on the work, but he died before the report came in. He was succeeded by Ismail Padsha, who refused to confirm the concessions made by his predecessor. Lord Palmerston had no liking for the Canal. So, it is possible, that he suggested the refusal. The reason of Palmerston's opposition to the canal was this : If the canal was built, Britain, as the principal Power trading with the East, would be the most interested party in the work of the canal. That interest would lead to some kind of interference in the affairs of Egypt. That interference may lead to friction with France. Later events showed that Palmerston's fears were true to some extent.

The dispute between the new Pasha and the Canal Company was referred to the arbitration of the French Emperor, Napoleon III, who decided, that as a return for the withdrawal of the concessions, the Company may be given a sum of about £ 900,000.

Later on, when the Canal was finished and began working pretty well, Lord Salisbury saw the necessity of having a great hand in the administration of the canal. So, he quietly worked in the matter and purchased a large number of shares from Egypt.

The Suez Canal, both ancient and modern, is, from the point of view of the sandy desert tract through which it passed and passes, a great engineering work. But otherwise its construction is simple. It is about 100 miles in length. It has an average depth of about 26 feet. Its width is about 72 feet at the bottom, and 200 to 300 at its topmost banks. On an average it takes about 16 hours to cross it.

Recorded instances of children having been nourished by Wolves and Birds of Prey.

(*Read before the Bombay Natural History Society on 7th May 1889.*)

The wolf is, as its very name shows, a ferocious and blood-thirsty animal. The word is the same as the Sanscrit Vrika (Av. Vehrka, Pahl. and Pers. gúrg and *Lat.* Vulpes, Germ. wolf) and comes from an old Aryan root, varek, (वृक्), to tear off. Though by nature a ferocious animal, as implied by the root of the word, it is susceptible of entertaining towards mankind parental or human feelings. This paper is intended to describe a case of this tender feeling as recorded in India, and to state a few similar cases, as narrated in old classical literature, of wolves and birds of prey.

I was travelling in Northern India in the early part of 1887, and when I was at Agra at the end of March, I was attracted to a place known as Secundra, which contained a tomb of Mariam, a Christian wife of the great Akbar, who had, in accordance with his views of tolerating different religions, taken to his harem, wives of different nationalities. I went there to see, if there was anything specially Christian in the tomb of that queen, as there was something specially Hindu in the royal chambers of his Hindu wife at Fatehpur Sikri. Though I saw nothing there specially Christian, I was pleased with my visit to that place, as I saw there a man who was generally known as the wolf-boy. A boy of the Secundra Church Mission Orphanage, which is located there, drew my attention to this man, whose history reminded me of what I had read in classical literature of ferocious and blood-thirsty animals turning at times tender and kind-hearted. I will describe the history of this boy in the words of Rev. Mr. Lewis, who published a short history of the Secundra Orphanage in 1885. He says of this boy:—"On February 4th, 1867, he was sent to the Superintendent of the Orphanage by the Magistrate of Búlandshahr, with the statement that he had been taken out of a wolf's hole or den. Some natives, it turned out on further enquiry, had been travelling by some unfrequented part of the jungle in the Bulandshahr district and had been surprised to see a small boy, of five or six years of age, walking about on his hands and feet. On drawing near to see this strange sight, they were amazed to see the boy disappear quickly within the interior of a large hole, which, on close inspection, turned out to be the dwelling place of some wild beast. Finding that all efforts to unearth the boy were fruitless, and

fearing to venture in after him, they set off to report the unusual occurrence to the Magistrate Saheb of Bulandshahr. This gentleman on hearing the story despatched messengers to the spot, with instructions to light a fire at the mouth of the cave, so as to force out the occupant of the hole by means of the smoke. This was done, and on the blinding and choking fumes making their way into the furthest corner of the hole, a fine snarling she-wolf sprang forth with a bound, and after scattering the bystanders in considerable terror, rushed away for safety and dear life. A moment later the boy too came forth, when he fell an easy prey to those intent on securing him. On conveying him to the Magistrate, the boy was found to be speechless, imbecile, and as near an approach to an animal as a human creature can possibly be. Vegetable food was offered to him; but this he refused. And it was only when meat was placed before him that he would eat. Finding it impossible to ever make the boy rational and useful, the Magistrate forwarded him to Secundra, with the request that he might be allowed an asylum there."

This is the short history of the boy as given in the book referred to above. Though wanting in the most ordinary intelligence, he seemed to be sensible of many things. He is reported, in the book in question, to be sociable and unselfish, and "always willing to share his numerous gifts with any one caring to have them." Owing to the lateness of age at which he was brought to the Orphanage he could not be taught to speak, though the attempts of the authorities of the Orphanage in other respects have been successful. At the time, when I saw him, he was asked by a boy of the Orphanage, by means of signs, to walk like a wolf. He did so on his hands and feet. Then he made me some signs which were interpreted to me as a desire to have some money for smoking cheroots, of which, I was told, he was very fond. At the time when he was first brought to the Orphanage he walked like an animal on his hands and feet, but he was soon taught to walk erect. At first he did not allow clothes to be put on him. He tore and threw them away; however, he was soon brought round to the use of these. His desire for raw meat only as food was gradually subdued for that of vegetables and ordinary cooked food. He is very ugly in appearance. It is supposed that the boy must have come across the path of a she-wolf, and that she, having lost her young ones, treated him with motherly kindness and care in place of her little ones; or that she must have stolen the boy from the side of his mother, as is very frequently the case in the poor cottages of many villages in the North-Western Provinces, and then instead of devouring him, must have entertained some attachment for him.

The Rev. Mr. Lewis says that Secundra Orphanage has been the home of two other wolf-boys and one wolf-girl. My attention was kindly drawn by a friend to the proceedings of 1875 of the Bengal Asiatic Society, before whom a paper was read on a similar subject by the geologist, Mr. V. Ball. This paper contains a short account of one of the two boys referred to, supplied to Mr. Ball by the Rev. Mr. Erhardt, the then Superintendent of the Secundra Orphanage. The account says of one of the boys that "he was brought to us on March 5th, 1872. He was found by Hindus who had gone hunting wolves in the neighbourhood of Mynpuri, had been burnt out of the den, and was brought here with the scars and wounds still on him. In his habits he was a perfect wild animal in every point of view. He drank like a dog, and liked a bone and raw meat better than anything else. He would never remain with the other boys, but hide away in any dark corner. Clothes he never would wear, but tore them up into fine shreds. He was only a few months among us, as he got fever and and gave up eating. We kept him for a time by artificial means, but eventually he died."

Mr. Erhardt says further on : "Neither of the above are new cases however. At the Lucknow mad-house there was an elderly fellow only four years ago, and may be there now, who had been dug out of a wolves' den by a European doctor, when I forget, but it must be a good number of years ago."

Ancient classical literature holds before us several cases of such miraculous escapes of children at the hands of ferocious animals and birds, like the wolf and the eagle.

(1) The case of Romulus and Remus is well known to many of us. Amulius, a king of Alba Longa, who had deprived his elder brother, Numitor, of his rightful claim to the throne, being fearful lest the heirs of Numitor might rise against him, caused his son to be murdered and his daughter Silvia to be made a Vestal virgin. Silvia being violated by Mars gave birth to two sons, Romulus and Remus, who together with their mother were ordered to be drowned in a stream of the Tiber, whence they were carried by a she-wolf, who had come there to satiate her thirst, and who feeling an attachment for them, suckled and nourished them. Their discovery at the wolf-den by Faustulus, the king's shepherd, led to their ultimate return to their grandfather Numitor and to the foundation of Rome.

(2) Tradition has attributed to Zoroaster a miraculous protection at the hand of she-wolves. When a child he was stolen from his house by some evil minded persons, who predicted a great blow to their evil cause at the hand of the child, when it came to age. They took the

child to a den of wolves at a time when the ferocious beasts were absent from their home, killed their young ones, and placed the child there, with a view that the wolves on their return, finding their young ones thus killed, might wreak their vengeance upon the child. The wolves on their return seeing what had taken place, at first, grew furious, but soon after took the deserted child under their protection, until it was discovered and taken home by the mother, who was wandering in search of the child.

Old classical literature gives us other instances where young children were nourished and brought up, not by wolves, but ferocious birds.

(3) Firdousi, the great Homer of the East, in his well-known Persian epic, the Shah-nameh, says of the father of Rustam, the great national hero of Iran, the Hercules of Persia, that he was brought up by a ferocious bird, called Sîmorg, which, according to the great Persian historian, Sir John Malcolm, is the same as the bird Rokh, and which according to some authors is the same as the Griffin, and according to others the same as the Phœnix. It was called Sîmorg (*i.e.*, 30 birds), because it was thought to be as strong singly as 30 other large birds combined. According to Firdousi, in the time of king Minocheher, the wife of Sâm, the Persian General, gave birth to a son, whose body was all covered with gray hairs like that of an old man. Just as William II was surnamed Rufus, from the redness of his hair, just as Pyrrhus was so called from the yellowness of his curls, and just as the family of Julius Cæsar derived its surname of Cæsar from the fact of its founder having a thick curl of hair (*Lat.* caes-ar-ies, *Sans.* केस, kesa), so this child of Sâm was called Zâl-i-zar, *i.e.*, golden-haired old man. The great Persian General Sâm disliked this ugly-looking child, and thought that it brought shame and disgrace upon the family, so he sent the child away to the Caucasus to be exposed on Mount Elburz. While there the bird Sîmorg came to prey upon it, but instead of devouring the child, it had compassion on it, and took it to its own abode and nourished it with drops of blood from other young animals that it killed. The child was nourished by the bird till it grew up to be a boy, and was taken away by the father, who was always labouring under the stings of conscience for his cruelty towards the child.

Firdousi thus describes the interview between the child and the ferocious bird :—

"Chû Sîmorg râ bachê shud gursnê,
Beparvâz bar shud buland az banê
Bebordash damân tâ be Elbourz kûh
Ke bûdash dar ânjâ kanâm-i-garûh
Suyê bachegân bord tâ beshkarand

Bedân nâle-i-zâr-i-û benegrand
Bebakhshûd Yazdân-i-niki dehash
Yaki bûdani dâsht andar bavesh
Khodâvand meheri be simorg dâd
Nekard û bekhurdan as ân bache yâd
Negeh kard Sîmorg bâ bachegan
Bar ân khûrd khun az dû dideh chegân
Shegaft în kê bar-u fekandand meher
Bemândand khireh badân khûbcheher
Shekari ke nâzuktarân bar guzid
Ke bîshîr mehmân hami khun mazîd,"

i.e., "When the young ones of the Sîmorg got hungry, the bird went flying from its nest into the air. It carried it (*i.e.*, the child) rapidly to the Elbourz mountain, where there was the nest of its family. It carried it to its young ones, so that they may devour it, and see the excessive weeping of the child. God the bestower of goodness favoured the child because there was a long life in store for it. God gave tenderness of heart to the Sîmorg and therefore it did not think of devouring the child. Sîmorg and its young ones looked to the child which was shedding tears from both its eyes. It was marvellous that they showed kindness to the child, and were struck with astonishment at the good-featured child. It (Sîmorg) selected for the child delicate and young animals so that the guest (*i.e.*, the child) may taste their blood instead of milk."

(4) Again, Greek writers also speak of a Persian prince Achæmines being nourished by an eagle.

(5) So was Zanymedes, a beautiful boy of Phrygia, nourished by an eagle.

(6) Semiramis, the founder of the Assyrian empire of Ninevah, was miraculously preserved and fed by doves. Her mother, Derceto, of Ascalon, in Syria, being ashamed of her frailty with a Syrian youth, exposed this infant child in an open place, where she was preserved and nourished by doves till she was discovered by some wandering shepherds, who took her to Simmas, the chief shepherd of the royal herds. It was from this Simmas that she derived her name of Semiramis. Her surpassing beauty first made her the wife of Onnes, one of the king's generals, and then that of the king himself.

India in the Avesta of the Parsis.

(*Read at Calcutta, before the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 2nd July 1913.*)

Introduction.

Anquetil Du Perron, the great French scholar, having seen a few stray pages of the Avesta writings in his country, had come to this country as a soldier-adventurer to study that language, and after passing through this city, had gone and settled at Surat, the then head-quarters of the Parsis. Having studied the Zend Avesta there for some years, he returned to France and published, in 1771, his Zend Avesta, containing the French translation of the Scriptures of the Parsis. Sir W. Jones was the first to run him down, as one duped by the Parsis of Surat. He said that the Avesta books, which he had brought to the notice of scholars in Europe, were not genuine and were a fabrication of the priests. The late Prof. James Darmesteter, a talented country-man of Anquetil Du Perron, who, for the first time, translated into English a large part of the Avesta from the original itself, thus speaks of the dispute : "A violent dispute broke out at once, as half the learned world denied the authenticity of the Avesta, which it pronounced a forgery. It was the future founder of the Royal Asiatic Society, William Jones, a young Oxonian then, who opened the war. He had been wounded to the quick by the scornful tone adopted by Anquetil towards Hyde and a few other English scholars : the Zend Avesta suffered for the fault of its introducer, Zoroaster for Anquetil..... It is true that Anquetil had given full scope to satire by the style he had adopted : he cared very little for literary elegance, and did not mind writing Zend and Persian in French ; so the new and strange ideas he had to express looked stranger still in the outlandish garb he gave them."[1] Summing up the result of the long dispute on the subject, Darmesteter says : "Modern scholarship.....came to that twofold conclusion, that, on the one hand, Parsiism was one of the elements out of which Mohammed formed his religion, and, on the other hand, that the old religions of India and Persia flowed from a common source."[2] Kleuker and other distinguished scholars had, one after another, upheld the work of Anquetil and showed that the Avesta books he had discovered were genuine. Some of them in showing this, took the help of the Sanskrit language, of the scientific study of which Sir W. Jones had laid the foundation. Had Sir William Jones himself lived long, he would have soon corrected his somewhat

[1] S. B. E., Vol. IV. (1880), pp. XV-XVI.

[2] Ibid., p. XVII.

hasty conclusions, for which, one must say, the translations of Anquetil themselves were, to a certain extent, responsible, because, though they did all credit to him as a great scholar, they were after all crude. Sir W. Jones had no opportunity to see the Avesta books here in Calcutta, where there were very few Parsis at the time, though he had studied the later Persian Literature that bears some connection with the Avesta books.

Prof. Darmesteter thus speaks of the Avesta: "The Zend-Avesta is the sacred book of the Parsis, that is to say, of the few remaining followers of that religion which reigned over Persia at the time when the second successor of Mohammed overthrew the Sassanian dynasty..... .... In less than a century after their defeat, nearly all the conquered people were brought over to the faith of their new rulers, either by force, or policy, or the attractive power of a simpler form of creed. But many of those who clung to the faith of their fathers, went and sought abroad for a new home, where they might freely worship their old gods, say their old prayers, and perform their old rites. That home they found at last among the tolerant Hindus, on the western coast of India and in the peninsula of Guzerat.....As the Parsis are the ruins of a people, so are the sacred books the ruins of a religion. There has been no other great belief in the world that ever left such poor and meagre monuments of its past splendour. Yet great is the value which that small book, the Avesta, and the belief of that scanty people, the Parsis, have in the eyes of the historian and theologist."[1]

In this short paper, I want to collect those passages in "that small book, the Avesta," which refer to the land of "the tolerant Hindus," who kindly gave to the Parsis the hospitality of a "home."

The Pahlavas and the Gandhara Brahmans.

The Indians and the Irānians, forming the two most important branches of the Aryan or the Indo-Iranian stock of people, knew something of each other's country from very remote times. References to the Iranians of the Parthian dynasty of Persia are found in Manu[2] (X, 43-44) and in Natryashastra (XXV, 89). They are spoken of as Pahravas. These Pahravas, Pallavas or Pahlavs are the Arsacidian Parthians. A dynasty of that name had long ruled in India even up to the country of Mysore in the South. The Chalukyas are the opponents of these Pahlavs. They are supposed by some to be the same

[1] Ibid., XI-XII.

[2] "Institutes of Hindu Law or the Ordinances of Menu," by W. Jones (1794), p. 294.

as Salukians or the followers or Selucus, the general of Alexander the Great. If so, we see in this opposition another instance of the constant struggle of the Greeks and the Persians for the supremacy in the East. The coins of the Pahlavas have been found in the dominions of Kanishka, a Buddhist king, because they lived in his extensive dominions. These coins had the name of Avesta deities on them.[1]

Râdjatarangini, the History of Cashmir,[2] refers to some Gandhara Brahmans (गान्धारा ब्रह्मण) of the Mlechha dynasty (मलेच्छ वंश) in the reign of a king Mihira Cula, the Mirkhul of the Âin-i-Akbari. This Mihira Cula is depicted by the author of the Râdjatarangini as a wicked king in whose reign the Mlechhas had an ascendancy. He had founded the temple of Mihireswara and the City of Mihirapur in which the Gandhâr Brahmans, a low race, and therefore the more highly esteemed by this iniquitous monarch, were permitted to seize upon the endowments of the more respectable orders of the priesthood.[3]"

While travelling in Cashmere some years ago, a learned Pandit of Sharinagar told me, that the Gandhara Brahmans referred to in the Râdjatarangini were Zoroastrian Mobads or priests. Some other statements in the Râdjatarangini[4] about them seem to confirm this identification. These references to the Zoroastrians of Persia show that India knew Irân from very old times. Similarly, we learn from the Avesta, that Irân knew India from very remote times.

The five countries known to the early Iranians.

According to the Irânians of the times of the Avesta, the then known world consisted of five countries. These are mentioned in the Farvardin Yasht which is, as it were, the canon of the ancient Zoroastrians. It contains the names of the ancient Irânian saints whose Farohars or good spirits are invoked in prayers. In it,[5] the saints of the following five countries are invoked :—

1. Airyanâm dakhyunâm, *i.e.*, the country of the Airyas.
2. Tuiryanâm dakhyunâm, *i.e.*, the country of the Turânians.
3. Sairimanâm dakhyunâm, *i.e.*, the country given to Selam by king Faridun—the country of Rum, or Asia Minor and Eastern Europe.

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1. *Vide* "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins. (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVII, Part CCVII). *Vide* Mon. E. Drtin's Paper, entitled "Le Nimbe et les Signes de l' Apothéose sur les Monnaies des rois Indo-Scythes" (Revue Nummismatique. Quatriemme Serie, Tome V. deuxieme trimestre 1901).
2. *Vide* my paper on "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians," B.B.R.A.S. XIX, pp. 237-248.
3. Asiatic Researches, XV, p. 28.
4. Bk. I, Slokas 306-309.
5. Farvardin Yasht (Yasht XIII, 144).

4. Sâininâm dakhyunâm, *i.e.*, the country of China.

5. Dâhinâm dakhyunam, *i.e.*, the country of the Dahæ, a people of Central Asia.

Of these five, India was included in the first, the country of the Airyas or Aryas. As to this first country, the country of the Airyas, sixteen countries or cities are included in its catalogue, the first being Airyana-Vaêja, or the Irân Vej, the Irân proper of the early Irânians, or, what can be called the Aryavrut of the Irânians, as India is the Aryavrut of the Hindus. India forms a part of the country of the Airyas named in the Farvardin Yasht.

References to India, in the Avesta.

Coming to the question of the direct references to India itself in the Avesta, we find, in all, four references. They are the following :—

I. The Vendidad, Chap. I, 19.
II. Yaçna (Sarosh Yasht) LVII, 29.
III. Meher Yasht, 104.
IV. Tir Yasht, 32.

1. The Vendidâd : The four facts mentioned by it.

Of these four, the first, *viz.*, the reference in the Vendidâd, seems to be the oldest and the most important. The passage runs thus :—

" Panchadasem asanghâmcha shoithranâmcha vahishtem frâthweresem, azem yô Ahurô Mazdâo yô Hapta-Hindu, hacha ushastara Hindva avi daoshatarem Hindûm. Âat ahê paityârem frâkerentat Angrô Mainyush pouru-mahrkô arathwyâcha dakhshta arathwîmcha garemâum."

Translation.—I, who am Ahura Mazda, created, as the fifteenth best place and country, (the country of) Hapta Hindu, (which extends) from the East of the Hindu (river, *i.e.*, the Indus) up to the West of the Hindu. Then, the evil spirit created therein, as a counter-act (against its excellence), excessive menstruation and excessive heat.

We learn from this passage of the Vendidâd the following facts about India—

(A) That India was the fifteenth of the 16 Aryan countries, known to the early Iranians as created or blessed by God.

(B) It was known as Hapta Hindu.

(C) The country watered by the Indus formed India, and its boundary latterly extended further both ways, towards the East and the West.

(D) It had, as it were, two curses or miseries associated with it. Let us now examine these facts.

A. India, the 15th country.

Firstly, let us consider, why is India spoken of in the Vendidâd as the 15th country? The answer to this question is connected with the question, as to what the first chapter of the Vendidâd is a record of. Baron Bunsen, Rhode, Lassen, Haug and others thought, that the 16 places, mentioned in the Vendidâd, were those to which the ancient Aryan or the Indo-Irânian race migrated one after another. Others, like Spiegel, thought, that this chapter only contained a list of the countries known to the ancient Irânians. Prof. Darmesteter took it merely as "a geographical description of Irân." I think, that the chapter contains an enumeration of the countries which were occupied, one after another, by the ancient Irânians, and in which the ancient Mazdayaçnân religion prevailed to a more or less extent. The very beginning of the chapter helps us to say so. It runs thus :—

"Mraot Ahurô Mazdâo Spitamâi Zarathushtrâi azem dadhâm Spitama Zarathushtra asô râmô-dâitîm noit kudat-shâittim. Yedhi zî azem nôit daidhyâm Spitama Zarathushtra asô râmô-dâitîm nôit kudat-shâitîm vîspo anghush astvâo Airyanem Vaejô frâshnvât."

Translation.—Ahura Mazda said to Spitama Zarathushtra: O Spitama Zarathushtra ! I have created (all) countries as pleasure-giving countries (*i.e.*, as countries giving pleasure to its inhabitants), and not as pleasure-destroying (countries). O Spitama Zarathushtra ! Had I not created countries which gave pleasure and which did not destroy pleasure, then the whole of the living world would have crowded in the country of Airyana Vaeja (Irânvej).

The gist of the chapter seems to be this : God has created all countries for the pleasant abode of men. He had no idea of adding any discomfort. But circumstances have connected some kind of discomfort or evil with all countries. For example, even Irân, which is mentioned as the first chosen land of God, though beautiful and enjoyable in all matters, has the disadvantage of being excessively cold and of being infested with large snakes. After creating Irân, as the first of the inhabitable countries, God went on creating other countries one after another. Had not God thus made inhabitable other countries, all human population would have thronged at, and crowded, Irân. Thus

one after another, as one city or country got overcrowded, another was created and made habitable. All such countries had with their advantages, one or another disadvantage or complaint attached to them. India was the fifteenth country in the list, and the disadvantages attached to it were, (*a*) that it was excessively hot, and (*b*) that there, women had to pass through the state of menstruation at a very early age of life.

The sixteen countries named in the Vendidâd are the following :—

	Names in the Avesta.	*Modern names.*
1.	Airyana Vaêja	Irân.
2.	Sugdha (Sogdiana of the Greeks) ...	Samarkand.
3.	Môuru	Merv.
4.	Bâkhdhi	Balkh.
5.	Nisâya	Nishâpur.
6.	Harôyû	Herat, or the country of the Heri-rud (river).
7.	Vaêkêrêta	Nimrouz or Seistan.
8.	Urva	Kabul.
9.	Veharkâna	Gourgân.
10.	Harahaiti	Sarasvati.
11.	Haêtumant	Helmand.
12.	Ragha	Rae.
13.	Chakhra	... ..
14.	Varêna	Gilân.
15.	Hapt-Hindu	India.
16.	The country near Rangha	.....

Scholars differ on the question of the identification of some of these countries. However, the order of the countries shows, that all the 14 countries, preceding the mention of India, are on the West of India. India, being in the further East, is mentioned well-nigh last. The identification of the 16th country is very doubtful. Anyhow, we see that India is one of the countries known to the ancient Irânians. Later books which, if not truly historical, are semi-historical, speak of India being at times under the sway of the pre-Achæmenian Irânians. So, we may take, that India is named in the list of the countries as one under the territorial sway or under some influence of the ancient Irânians.

B. India, the Hapta-Hindu of the Avesta.

The second fact which we learn about India from the above passage of the Vendidâd, is that it was known as Hapta-Hindu. This fact is very striking. The Hapta-Hindu of the Vendidâd is the Sapt-Sindhu of the Vedas. The word shows that India was known to the Persians from old times, when the Indus had seven branches and

not five, which have given the country through which it flows, its later Persian name of Panjâb. The seven branches were the following :—

Vedic names.	Greek names.	Mahabharata names.	Modern names.
Sindhu ...	Indus ...	.....	Sindhu
Vitastâ ...	Hydaspes ...	Vitastâ ...	Jhelum
Asikani ...	Akesinis ...	Tchandrabhaga.	Chenaub
Parushani ...	Hydraortes ...	Airavati ...	Râvi
Vipas ...	Hyphasis ...	Vipasa ...	Biyâ
Satadhru ...	Hesydrus ...	Satadru ...	Sutlej
Kubha ...	Kophen ...	.....	.....

It looks strange, but it is a fact, that the country of India and its people were known to the ancient Greeks, and are, even now, known to the moderns, including the Hindus themselves, by their Irânian names. The indigenous Vedic name of the country, through which the Indus (which has given its name, India, to the country) flows, is Sapt Sindhu. So, the country ought to have been known by the name Sindhustân and not Hindustân which is a form of the old Irânian name. The river has preserved its old Indian name, *viz.*, Sindhu, but the country has taken its Irânian name Hindu (Hindustan). The ancient Greeks and all the other Westerners, who began to know India through Persia, knew this country and know it even now, by its Irânian name.

The Greek name of one of the branches of the Indus, *viz.*, the modern Jhelum (Vedic Vitastâ), is Hydaspes. This name is Irânian. The word "aspes" which forms the second part of the name, is Avesta "aspa," corresponding to the Sanskrit अश्व (Ashva), Latin 'equus,' horse. We find the word in the Avesta and Greek names of another Persian river also. It is the Hvaspa of the Avesta,[1] the Choaspes of the Greeks, the modern Cherkheh. Unfortunately, we have not in the extant Avesta the names of the seven branches of the Indus. But this Greek name of one of the branches shows that the branch was named by the Greeks after its Irânian name. Similarly, the main river and the country itself were named after their Irânian names.

In the Sassanian times of the later Pahlavi commentators of the Avesta, the Indus having only five branches, the commentators were at a loss to know why the country was called Hapt-Hindu. So, they

[1] Zamyad Yasht, 67. *Vide* my paper on the river Karun (Asiatic Papers, pp. 1-22).

seem to have ingeniously discovered another reason for the name. They said: "Avash hapt-Hindukânih hanâ âigh sar-khudâ haft ait,"[1] *i.e.*, it is called Hapt-Hindu, because there are seven rulers over it. Possibly there were seven rulers ruling over the land of the Indus at the time.

Probable age of the Vendidad.

As stated by Dr. Haug, at least two facts lead to show that the Vendidâd, in which the name of India occurs as Hapt-Hindu, was written many centuries before Christ.

Firstly, we learn from Herodotus,[2] that Deioces of Media had founded the famous city of Ecbatana (Agabatana, Hamdan). That was in B.C. 708. This great city of ancient Persia is not mentioned in the above list of the cities of the Vendidâd. This fact, therefore shows that the Vendidâd, or at least this chapter of the Vendidâd, was written long before B.C. 708.

Secondly, the city of Balkh, which is named as Bâkhdhi in the Vendidâd, is spoken of there as the city of "Eredhvôdrafshâm," *i.e.*, the city of the exalted banners (darafsh, Fr. drapeau). This statement shows that it was still at that time the capital city of Bactria, carrying the royal banner. Now, we know, that Bactria fell into the hands of the Assyrians at about B.C. 1200. So then, this particular chapter (Chap. I) of the Vendidâd must have been written long before B.C. 1200, when its exalted banner fell at the hands of the Assyrians. These facts then show, that India was known to the ancient Irânians as Hapt-Hindu, *i.e.*, as "the country of the seven rivers of the Indus," a long time before 1200 B.C.

C. The then boundary of India.

Coming to the third fact, we find that the country of India, as first known to the Irânians, before about 1200 B.C., was only the country of the Indus. Latterly, the boundary seems to have extended both ways. This fact appears from a sentence in the above chapter of the Vendidâd, which as it were, gives the eastern and the western boundaries of the Hapt-Hindus. It says, "Hacha ushastara Hindva avi daoshatarem Hindum," *i.e.*, the country of Hindustan, extends from the East of the Indus to the West of the Indus. This sentence is not found in some of the old manuscripts of the Vendidâd.[3] So, it seems, that it is a later addition by way of a comment. The later Pahlavi rendering of

[1] Spiegel's Text of the Pahlavi Vendidad, p. 7, l. 1.

[2] Bk. I, 98.

[3] *Vide* Westergaard's Text, p. 346, note 5 to para. 19, where he says "K2, K9, R omit these six words, hacha.....Hindum."

the Vendidâd gives the comment thus: "Hacha ushastara Hendva avi daoshastarem Hendum."[1] The above Avesta passage and this Pahlavi rendering have well nigh the same phraseology. So, it appears that the Avesta sentence is a later addition by a commentator. Anyhow, what we find from this passage is this: At first, it was only the country watered by the Hindu (Indus) that was known as the country of Hindustan (India), but latterly, gradually the country both on the west and the east of the country so watered by the Indus was included in the name Hindu or India.

4. Lastly, we come to the question of the curse on the country. The Vendidâd associated some evil, misfortune or curse with all the sixteen regions mentioned in its list of the Aryan cities. Ahura Mazda or the good spirit created them as pleasure-giving abodes for men, but the evil spirit produced some kind of evil to mar their pleasures. In the case of India, the evil was twofold. Its people had to bear too excessive heat and its women had to pass through a period of menstruation at a very early period of their life. We know that this is true of India even now.

Having examined the four inferences that can be drawn from the passage of the Vendidâd which is the first and the principal reference to India in the Avesta, we will now look into the other references.

II. The reference to India in the Yaçna (LVII, 29) runs thus:—

"Yatchit ushastairê Hendvô âgeurvayêitê yatchit daoshtairê Nignê."

Translation—Who goes from Hindustan in the East to Nineveh in the West.

Here Sraosha, the Yazata or Angel presiding over Obedience, is represented as marching in his chariot of swift horses, from the East to the West. India (Hindva) is here represented as the Eastern boundary and Nineveh as the Western boundary of the then known Irânian country. Scholars differ as to the meaning of the last word *nignê*. Some do not take it to be a proper noun. Darmesteter takes the eastern boundary to be the river Indus, and the Western the river Tigris. But we need not enter into the question of settling the meaning of the last word. Suffice it to say for our purpose, that the Yaçna speaks of India as the eastern boundary of the territories of the country of Iran.

III. The reference to India in the Meher Yasht (104) runs thus:—

Mithrem vouru-gaoyaoitîm yazamaidê .. ... yenghê daregâchit bâzava fragerewenti mithrô-aojanghô, yatchit ushas tairê Hindvô âgeurvayeiti yatchit daoshatairê Nignê.

[1] Spiegel's Text, p. 7, 1, 3.

Translation—We invoke Mithra of wide pastures.....whose extended arms help that person who adheres to his promise (mithra), whether that person be in Hindustan in the East or Nineveh in the West.

The Meher Yasht treats of Mithra, the Yazata or Angel of Light, who is believed to preside over "truthfulness." He helps those who truthfully adhere to their promises, whether they happen to be in India in the East or Nineveh in the West. The phraseology being the same as that in the Yaçna, the inference also is the same.

From the above two references of the Yaçna and the Meher Yasht, we find the following two facts :—

1. Firstly, they have dropped the word Hapta or seven from the name of the country and no longer speak of it as Hapta-Hindu, but speak of it only as Hindu. This shows, that latterly, the name Hindu or India was not confined to the country watered by the Indus but was extended to regions other than this.

2. Secondly, the rule of Persia extended at the time from Nineveh in the West to India in the East.

IV. The last reference to India in the Avesta is that in the Tir Yasht (32). It speaks not of India itself but of one of its mountains—the Hindukush. The passage runs thus :—

"Âat tat dunmân hâm-hishtenti us Hindvat paiti garôit."

Translation—Then vapour arises from the mount Hindu.

Tistrya is the Yazata or angel presiding over rain. So, in the Yasht which treats of an account of this Yazata, the watery vapour which forms rain, is referred to as arising from Mount Hindu, which is identified with the Hindukush.

Ancient Pâtaliputra. Dr. D. B. Spooner's Recent Excavations at its site and the Question of the Influence of Ancient Persia upon India.

(*Read on 3rd March* 1916.)

I.

Introduction.

During the last year, our attention has been drawn to the great question of the Influence of Ancient Irân upon India, by two great archæological excavations. The first excavation is that of the ruins of the ancient city of Taxâlâ by Sir John Marshall, and the second that of the ruins of the ancient city of Pâtaliputra (modern Patna) by Dr. D. B. Spooner. The object of this Paper is three-fold.—

I. To give a brief account of the history of Pâtaliputra and of its past and present excavations from an Irânian point of view.

II. To examine the general question of the influence of ancient Iran upon ancient India.

III. To present a few constructive observations on Dr. Spooner's literary evidence about the influence of Irân, from an Irânian point of view.

I want to speak on these subjects, not from any archæological or architectural point of view, but from a literary point of view, and that from an Irânian point of view. I leave it to archæologists to examine Dr. Spooner's archæological evidences and to scholars of Indian literature to examine his evidences from Indian books.

Before speaking of Dr. Spooner's excavations at Pâtaliputra, the subject proper of my Paper, I will say a few words on Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxâlâ, where also the question of the influence of Irân on India is connected with the discovery of the ruins of, what Sir John calls, a Zoroastrian temple.

II.

A Temple at Taxâlâ supposed to be a Zoroastrian Fire-temple.

The ruins of Taxâlâ are situated at a place called Kalaka Sarâi, near the village of Shah Dheri, about 24 miles from Rawulpindi. I had the pleasure of visiting the ruins on 16th July 1915, on my return journey from Kashmir. Thanks to the kindness and courtesy of Sir John Marshall, I was given an opportunity to see the ruins, though the actual excavation work was stopped owing to the hot weather. What I was most interested in, as a Parsee, in these excavations of Taxâlâ was the excavation of, the "Mound of Jhandial", so called from an adjoining modern village of that name. Sir John Marshall has excavated there a temple, which he calls "The Temple of Jhandiala," and which he thinks to be an ancient Parsee Fire-temple of the Parthian times.

The Account of the Temple of Jhandiala.

We gather the following brief account of the temple, from the description, as given by Sir John Marshall, in his Lecture before the Punjab Historical Society[1]: It is a temple unlike any yet known in India but resembling a Greek temple. The Greek temple was surrounded by (*a*) peristyle or a range of columns, (*b*) a *pronaos* or front porch, (*c*) a *naos, or cella* or sanctuary and (*d*) an *opisthodomos* or a back porch at the rear. As in the case of some Greek temples, *e.g.*, the Parthenon[2] at Athens, (*e*) "there is an extra chamber between the sanctuary and back porch." The Taxâlâ Temple has, (*a*) instead of a range of columns to support the building "a wall pierced by large windows at frequent intervals, with two Ionic columns between pilasters at the entrance." (*b*) It has a front porch; (*c*) then comes the sanctuary; and then (*d*) a back porch. In place of the (*e*) extra chamber seen in a Greek temple, here, there is a tower of solid masonry with a foundation of about 30 feet. The temple is unlike any Buddhist, Brahmanical or Jain temple in India. So, it must belong to another religion. The tower was a sort of Chaldæn *Zikurrat* on the summit of which was a fire-altar. From all these considerations, Sir John Marshall thinks the building to be "a temple dedicated to the Zoroastrian Worship." "This is the only plausible hypothesis", he adds, "which seems to me to explain the peculiar structure of the solid tower in the middle of the building and the entire absence of any images. The Persians, as we know, set their fire-altars in high places, and raised on lofty substructures. We know, moreover, that the idea of

[1] Lecture by Dr. J. H. Marshall, C.I.E., delivered before the Punjab Historical Society, August 29th, 1914, p. 7.

[2] I had the pleasure of seeing the Parthenon at Athens on 23rd November 1889.

the Assyrian *Zikurrat* was familiar to the Persians, and there is nothing more likely than that they borrowed its design for their fire-temples.'

I will quote here, what I have said elsewhere,[1] as my few observations on Sir John Marshall's account of the Temple :

"Not being a student, of archæology, I do not venture to speak with any authority, as to whether Sir John's opinion about that temple is correct. But as an humble student of Zoroastrianism, knowing something about its fire-temples and the customs of the fire-cult, and having examined very carefully the structure of the Jhandiala Temple, I venture to say, that I observed nothing that could be said to go against Sir John's views about the building being a Zoroastrian Temple of old. On the other hand, in main principles, the structure even resembled some of our modern fire-temples.

"But there is one point, on which I have my doubts. The learned archæologist thinks, that the tower is the seat of a fire-altar at the top, and takes, as the ground for this view, the fact that the Persians had their fire altars in high places. Of course, he has the authority of Herodotus, (Book I, 131). But, I think, that that view would not apply to later Parthian times—about 500 years after Herodotus,—to which Sir John Marshall attributes the Temple on archæological grounds. If some further researches lead him to attribute the temple to more ancient times—say the time when Darius the Great invaded India with his large army of Persians and when he passed through this part of the Punjab—then his view of the use of the Tower may possibly, though not assuredly, be held to be stronger. What I mean to say is, that, at one time, when a Zoroastrian Temple stood in the midst of Zoroastrian surroundings, it was possible to let the sacred fire burn in an open place like the top of a tower, but not, when it stood in surroundings other than strictly Zoroastrian, in surroundings associated with Buddhists, Brahmins, Jains and others, as was the case when the Parthians occupied this part of the country at the time attributed to it by Sir John Marshall.

"So, I think, the *naos*, or sanctuary was the place of the fire altar and the dias or platform in it was the place of the utensils at the fire altar, and the place standing over which the priests fed the sacred fire. The tower itself had of course a religious purpose, *viz.*, that of saying prayers in praise of the Sun, Moon, Water, and the grand Nature which led a Zoroastrian's thoughts from Nature to Nature's God.

[1] The *Times of India* of 11th August 1915.

Of all the modern fire-temples of India, the one at present in the old Parsi centre of Naosari seems to suggest this view and seems to come nearer to the Taxâlâ tower. There, near the place of the sanctuary wherein the sacred fire is burning, there is a small two-storied building, reminding one of a tower, though not exactly a tower, on which the worshippers went to have a look at the distant Purnâ river and to say their Ardvisura Nyâish, and even the Khorshed and Meher Nyaishes. It was a place which gave them a more open look of the whole of the surrounding nature. The Taxâlâ temple tower may have been intended for a similar purpose."

III.

I. PÂTALIPUTRA—ITS HISTORY. THE IDENTIFICATION OF ITS SITE. ITS EXCAVATIONS.

It is the second group of excavations, *viz.*, that at Pâtaliputra, financed by Mr. Ratan Tata, that has drawn more public attention. When the attention of us here in Bombay was first drawn to the subject, at the close of the year 1914, by a letter, dated 16th October, of the London correspondent of the "Times of India," published in the issue of 9th November 1914, in a para entitled "Parsee Dominion in India", I had the pleasure of writing in that Paper, in its issue of 12th November. I then said : "The Mahomedan Historian Firishta speaks of the conquest, by the old Irânian Kings, of even further east.[1] Even the Vendidâd speaks of the India of the Persians as extending to the East, and now the para in your Paper speaks of the modern excavations at Pâtaliputra (Patna), as pointing to an actual dominion of ancient Irânians in the east, further than Punjab ; but further details will enable us to see properly whether the recent excavations point to an actua dominion extended up to there, or only to the influence of Persipolitan architecture on Indian architecture which is seen in more than one place."

Further details, mostly from a literary point of view, have now been given to us by the learned excavator, Dr. D. B. Spooner. His excavations led him to some inquiries, the result of which he has embodied in a Paper, entitled "The Zoroastrian period of Indian History," published in two parts, in the Journal[2] of the Royal Asiatic Society of England. This Paper of Dr. Spooner has, as it were, to use the words of the late Professor Maxmuller,[3] used on a somewhat similar occasion

[1] *i.e.* further than Punjab.

[2] Issues of January and July 1915.

[3] Prof. Maxmuller's article "The date of the Zend Avesta" in the Contemporary Review of December 1893, Vol. XLIV, p. 869.

of, what may be called, literary heresy, thrown a bomb-shell into the peaceful camp of Oriental scholars. This paper and some correspondence I had with the learned author,[1] has suggested to me the subject of this Paper, the main object of which is to show, that there are many facts or evidences which point to the conclusion, that, at one time, ancient Persia had very great influence upon India; and so, there is a great likelihood of Dr. Spooner's theory of an extraordinary influence being generally correct, though any particular argument or arguments or pleas, here or there, may be incorrect or weak.

Before giving the story of Dr. Spooner's excavations I will give here in brief:

(*A*) The history of the old city of Pâtaliputra.

(*B*) An account of the attempts to identify its site.

(*C*) An account of the Identification and Excavations of the ruins of its buildings, referred to by old writers like the Chinese travellers, Fâ Hien and Hiuen Tsiang.[2]

IV.

(*A*) The History of the City of Pâtaliputra.

1. The Legendary History. Signification of the name.

The history of this city, as in the case of all old cities or countries, begins with its legendary history of origin. This legendary origin also gives us the meaning of its name. Pâtaliputra (पाटलिपुत्र), the modern Patna, is the Palibothra of Megasthenes, who was the Ambassador of Seleucus Necator in the reign of King Chandra Gupta, about 300 B. C. It is situated on a confluence of the rivers Ganges and Son or Sena. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadha. It was also anciently known as Kusumpur (कुसुमपुर) and Pushyapur (पुष्यपुर), both meaning a city of flowers. The name, therefore, corresponds to the name of Florence, and the city is spoken of as "the Indian Florence."

The name Pâtaliputra is taken to mean "the Son (putra पुत्र) of Pâtali (पाटलि)" *i.e.*, the trumpet flower. The Legend, which describes the origin of this ancient city, and which explains the above meaning of its name, is thus related by the Chinese traveller

[1] Since then, I had the pleasure of two long interviews with Dr. Spooner in Bombay on the 15th and 17th of February 1916, when we had a long exchange of views.

[2] Dr. James Legge in his "Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms," being an Account of the Chinese monk Fâ-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon, 399—414 A. D. (1886), p. 77, n. 1.

Hiuen Tsiang[1] (about A.D. 629) :—" To the south of the river Ganges there is an old city about 70 li round. Although it has been long deserted, its foundation walls still survive. Formerly, when men's lives were incalculably long, it was called Kusumapura (K'u-su-mo-pu-lo,)[2] so called, because the palace of the King had many flowers. Afterwards, when men's age reached several thousands of years, then its name was changed to Pâtaliputra[3] (Po-ch'a-li-tsu-ch'ing).

" At the beginning there was a Brahmin of high talent and singular learning. Many thousands flocked to him to receive instruction. One day all the students went out on a tour of observation ; one of them betrayed a feeling of unquiet and distress. His fellow-students addressed him and said, 'What troubles you, friend?' He said, 'I am in my full maturity (beauty) with perfect strength, and yet I go on wandering about here like a lonely shadow till years and months have passed, and my duties (manly duties) not performed. Thinking of this, my words are sad and my heart is afflicted.' On this, his companions in sport replied, 'We must seek then for your good a bride and her friends.' Then they supposed two persons to represent the father and mother of the bridegroom, and two persons the father and mother of the bride, and as they were sitting under a Patali (po-ch'a-li) tree, they called it the tree of the son-in-law.[4] Then they gathered seasonable fruits and pure water, and followed all the nuptial customs, and requested a time to be fixed. Then the father of the supposed bride gathering a twig with flowers on it, gave it to the student and said, 'This is your excellent partner ; be graciously pleased to accept her.' The student's heart was rejoiced as he took her to himself. And now, as the sun was setting, they proposed to return home ; but the young student, affected by love, preferred to remain.

" Then the other said : 'All this was fun ; pray come back with us ; there are wild beasts in this forest ; we are afraid, they will kill you.' But the student preferred to remain walking up and down by the side of the tree.

" After sunset, a strange light lit up the plain, the sound of pipes and lutes with their soft music (was heard), and the ground was covered with a sumptuous carpet. Suddenly an old man of gentle mien was

[1] Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hieun Tsiang (A. D. 629) by Samuel Beal (1884), Vol. II, pp. 82-85.

[2] " Explained in a note to mean Hiang-hu-kong-sh'sing—the city or royal precinct of the scented flower (kusuma).

[3] " The text seems to refer the foundation of this city to a remote period, and in this respect is in agreement with Diodorus, who says (lib. II, cap. 39) that this city was founded by Heracles."

[4] That is they made the tree father-in-law of the student ; in other words he was to marry daughter of the tree, a Pátali flower (*Bignonia suaveolens*).

seen coming, supporting himself by his staff, and there was also an old mother leading a young maiden. They were accompanied by a procession along the way, pressed in holiday attire and attended with music. The old man then pointed to the maiden and said: 'This is your worship's wife (lady).' Seven days then passed in carousing and music, when the companions of the student, in doubt whether he had been destroyed by wild beasts, went forth and came to the place. They found him alone in the shade of the tree, sitting as if facing a superior guest. They asked him to return with them, but he respectfully declined.

"After this he entered of his own accord the city, to pay respect to his relatives, and told them of this adventure from beginning to end. Having heard it with wonder, he returned with all his relatives and friends to the middle of the forest, and there they saw the flowering tree become a great mansion; servants of all kinds were hurrying to and fro on every side, and the old man came forward and received them with politeness, and entertained them with all kinds of dainties served up amidst the sound of music. After the usual compliments, the guests returned to the city and told to all, far and near, what had happened.

"After the year was accomplished, the wife gave birth to a son, when the husband said to his spouse, 'I wish now to return, but yet I cannot bear to be separated from you (your bridal residence); but if I rest here I fear the exposure to wind and weather.' The wife having heard this, told her father. The old man then addressed the student and said, 'Whilst living contented and happy why must you go back? I will build you a house; let there be no thought of desertion.' On this, his servants applied themselves to the work, and in less than a day it was finished.

"When the old capital of Kusumapura was changed, this town was chosen, and from the circumstance of the genii building the mansion of the youth the name henceforth of the country was Pâtaliputrapura (the city of the son of the Pâtali tree)."

2. Buddha's visit to the city and his prophecy about it.

It seems,[1] that, at the place, where, later on, there arose the city of Pâtaliputra, stood a village of the name of Pâtali or Pátaligráma. It was situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Son. Sakyamouni, the Buddha, in about the 4th or 5th century B. C., on his way from Rajgriha, the old capital of the district,

[1] I give this early account of the old city, as collected by P. Vivien de Saint Martin in his "Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde" (1858), Troisiéme Mémoire, Appendix V Pátaliputra, pp. 439 *et seq.*

to Vasali, on crossing the Ganges, passed by this town. On seeing the village, he predicted that the village was destined to become a great city. The words of the prophecy, as given by Col. Waddell, run thus :

'Among famous places, busy marts and emporiums, Pâtaliputra will be the greatest; (but) three perils will threaten it—fire, water and internal strife."[1] Râjâ Ajâtasatru, the son of Bimbisâra, who had become the king of the country, about 8 years before the death of Buddha, had his capital at that time at Rajgir (Rajgriha). He got this village or town of Pâtaligráma duly fortified with an eye to the future, as it was in the midst of several provinces and small republics. It stood at a point of great commercial and strategical importance at or near the confluence of all the five great rivers of Mid-India, namely, the Ganges, the Gogra, the Râpti, the Gandak and the Son."[2]

The Vâyu Purâna attributes the real foundation of Pâtaliputra to Ràjà Ajàta Satru's grandson, Oudaya or Oudayâçva. It was he who first removed the capital there from Rajgriha. This happened then during the last part of the 6th century B. C., because Oudaya came to throne in 519 B. C., about 24 years after the Nirvâna of Buddha. Ajâta Satru is said to have fortified the old city with a view to check "the rigorous invading Aryans," who were the Lichhavis of Mithila.

3. Its History in the time of Chandra-Gupta, as described on the authority of Megasthenes by (*a*) Strabo and (*b*) Arrian.

Both, Megasthenes (about B. C. 300-302), the ambassador of Seleucus Necator at the Court of Chandra-Gupta, and Chanakya, Chandra-Gupta's minister, have left us some accounts of the magnificence of the royal court at this city in the time of Chandra-Gupta (the Sandrakottos of the Greeks, Sandra-koptus of Athenæus, and Androkottos of Plutarch's Life of Alexander the Great). In the same way as some supernatural or divine powers were associated with the founding of this city, some divine powers were attributed to the rise of Chandra-Gupta to the throne from an humble origin.[3]

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[1] Buddha's prophecy, quoted by Col. Waddell at the beginning of his Report on the Excavations at Pâtaliputra (1903) p. 1. *cf.* Buddha's way of describing the city, and its curses or evils with the way in which Ahura Mazda describes the foundation of the 16 Iránian cities in the first chapter of the Vendidâd, wherein, with each city, a mention is made of the accompanying evil or curse.

[2] "Report on the Excavations at Pâtaliputra" by Dr. L. A. Waddell (1903), p. 2.

[3] Col. Waddell's Report on the Excavations at Pâtaliputra (1903), p. 3.

(*a*) Strabo.

Strabo, in one place, includes Megasthenes, from whom the Greeks knew much of India, among "a set of liars,"[1] and says, that no faith can be placed in him. He coined "the fables concerning men." Strabo seems to have condemned Megasthenes and with him also Deimachus, the Greek Ambassador in the Court of Altitrochades, the son of Sandrocottus, (Chandragupta), because they coined or described many fables. In another place, he follows the account of Megasthenes without showing any doubt about that account. He thus speaks of Palibothra: "It is in the shape of a parallelogram, surrounded by a wooden wall pierced with openings through which arrows may be discharged. In front is a ditch, which serves the purpose of defence and of a sewer for the city. The people, in whose country the city is situated are the most distinguished of all the tribes, and are called Prasii. The King, besides his family name, has the surname of Palibothrus, as the king to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy had the name of Sandrocottus."[2]

(*b*) Arrian.

Arrian speaks thus of Pâtaliputra and the Manners of the Indians: "It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said, that the number is so great, that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time—so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud; that the greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannoboas and the Ganges unite, the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannoboas being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia,[3] and that its breadth was fifteen stadia,[4] and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which

[1] The Geography of Strabo, Book II, Chapters I, 9. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, 1854, Vol. I, p. 108.

[2] *Ibid.* Book. XV, Chapter 1, 36, Vol. III, p. 97.

[3] *i. e.*, 9.2 miles.

[4] *i. e.*, 1.7 miles.

was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedæmonians and the Indians are here so far in agreement. The Lakedæmonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a country-man of their own."[1]

4. Pâtaliputra in Asoka's time.

Pâtaliputra seems to have risen to its zenith in the time of Chandragupta's grandson, the great Asoka (about B. C. 250), "the greatest of Indian Emperors,"[2] the contemporary and ally of Antiochus II of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonus Gonotus of Macedon, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus, as referred to in some of his (Asoka's) inscriptions. Stone is not found in plenty in this part of India. So, most of the royal buildings of the preceding times were built of wood. It is Asoka, who introduced the use of stones. Col. Waddell thus speaks on the subject: "The buildings previous to his epoch, as well as the walls of the city, seem all to have been of wood, like most of the palaces, temples and stockades of Burma and Japan in the present day. The change which he (Asoka) effected to hewn stone was so sudden and impressive and the stones which he used were so colossal, that he came latterly to be associated in popular tales with the giants or genii (*yaksha*) by whose superhuman agency it was alleged he had reared his monuments; and a fabulous romantic origin was invented for his marvellous capital. It was possibly owing to Asoka's gigantic stone buildings that the Greeks ascribed the building of the city to Hercules, for they had several accounts of it subsequent to the time of Megasthenes. It is also possible that this legend of the giants may have partly arisen through Asoka having made use of sculptured figures of the giants to adorn his buildings."[3]

5. History of the City after Asoka's time.

With the downfall of the dynasty of Asoka, the city also had its downfall due probably to fire, flood and internal quarrels, the three curses or evils said to have been prophesied by Budha. The older wooden buildings of the city may have led to frequent fires, and the peculiar position of the city on, or near the place of, the confluence of several rivers may have led to frequent floods. From the

[1] The Indica of Arrian X (Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Translation by J. W, McCrindle 1877, pp. 204-8).

[2] Dr. Waddell's Report of the Excavations at Pâtaliputra, p. 6.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 7.

third to the fifth century A. D., it continued, however fallen, to be the capital of Gupta kings, some of whom patronised Buddhism.

6. History in Fa-Hien's time.

Fâ-Hien, who had visited it (about B. C. 399-414), thus speaks of "the town of Pâtaliputra in the Kingdom of Magadha, the City where Asoka ruled": "The royal palaçe and halls, in the midst of the city, which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish."[1] Though fallen, Pâtaliputra was still a seat of learning, and as such, it was visited by him. He stayed and studied there for three years.

7. History in Hiuen Tsiang's time.

We have given above the account of Hiuen Tsiang (695 A. D.) on the supposed origin of Pâtaliputra, which also gives the meaning of the name. This Chinese traveller saw the city in ruins. He further says: "To the north of the old palace of the king is a stone pillar several tens of feet high; this is the place where Asôka (Wu-Yau) râjâ made 'a hell'. In the hundreth year after the *Nirvâna* of Tathâgata, there was a king called Ashôka (O-shu-kia,)[2] who was the great grandson of Bimbisâra râjâ. He changed his capital from Râjagriha to Pâtali (pura) and built an outside rampart to surround the whole city. Since then many generations have passed, and now there only remain the old foundation walls (of the city). The Sanghârâmas[3], Dêva temples and *stûpas* which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining (entire)."[4] Hiuen Tsiang then describes, how Asoka, on ascending the throne, was, at first, a cruel tyrant, and how he constituted here a hell for torturing people, how a pious Sramana escaped death at the hell, feeling the boiling caldron as cold as a cool lake, how king Asoka himself, having inadvertently come at the place, narrowly escaped being killed at the hell in conformity to his own order "that all who came to the walls of the hell should be killed", and how he at length destroyed the hell. In Hiuen Tsiang's time, the city, though in ruins had a circuit of about 12 to 14 miles.

[1] A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account of the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien, translated by Dr. James Legge (1886), p. 77. Chap. XXVII. Diodorus, the Sicilian (His. III, 3) also refers to its supernatural foundation thus: Hercules "was the founder of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Palibothra."

[2] "O-shu-kia" is the Sanskrit form of Wu-yau; the latter in the Chinese form signifying 'sorrowless'."

[3] *i.e.*, the monasteries.

[4] Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629) by Samuel Beal (1884), Vol. II, pp. 85-86.

8. History in Mahomedan times.

Coming to Mahomedan times, we find that it continued to remain deserted for a number of centuries. It was Shir Shâh, who, in about 1541 A. D., occupied it again as a royal city and built a fort there. It then came into importance under its modern name of Patna (Sans. पत्तन) *i.e.*, the town or city. It is even now the capital of Behar.

V.

(*B*) An Account of the attempts to identify the site of Pâtaliputra.

Pliny.

Pliny, among the ancients, was the first to point to a particular place as the site of Pâlibothra. He placed the city at 425 miles from the confluence of the river Jomanes (Jumna) and Ganges.[1] He thus speaks of the city: "More famous and more powerful than any nation, not only in these regions, but throughout almost the whole of India, are the Prasii, who dwell in a city of vast extent and of remarkable opulence, called Palibothra; from which circumstance some writers have given to the people themselves the name of Palibothri, and, indeed, to the whole tract of country between Ganges and the Indus. These people keep on daily pay in their king's service an army consisting of six hundred thousand foot, thirty thousand horse, and nine thousand elephants, from which we may easily form a conjecture as to the vast extent of their resources."[2] Thus we see, that Pliny placed Palibothra (Pâtaliputra) somewhere about 425 miles below the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna.

European scholars began to attempt the identification of the site of Pâtaliputra in the latter half of the 18th century.[3]

D'Anville.

The first European in the field of identification was the well-known French Geographer D'Anville (1697-1782), who published in 1768, his "Géographie Ancienne Abrégée." This work was translated into English in two parts in 1791, under the name of Compendium of Ancient Geography. D'Anville, who erroneously identified the river Erannoboas, mentioned by the Greek writers who referred to Palibothra (Pâtaliputra), with the Jamna, instead of with the river Son, placed Pâtaliputra somewhere near Helabas (Allahabad). He was misled to this mistaken identification also by the name Prasii, which, according to the Greek writers,

1 Pliny's Natural History, Book VI, Chap. 21. Bostock and Riley's Translation (1855), Vol. II, p. 42.

2 *Ibid*, Chapter 22, p. 45.

3 Col. Waddell gives us a short account of these attempts in his "Report of the Excavations at Pataliputra" (1903), p. 9, *et seq*.

was the name of a great nation living there. He took this name Prasii to be the same as Praye (Prayâg), which is another Indian name of Allahabad.[1] D'Anville said : " Pálibothra, the most considerable city of India. It was situated on the Ganges, at the place where this river received a contributary stream, which appears the same as the Jomanes,[2] although called Erannobas.[3] To this position corresponds that of Helabas,[4] which by the vestiges of antiquity, and the tradition of having been the dwelling of the parent of mankind, is a kind of sanctuary in the Indian paganism. The most powerful nation of India, the Prasii occupied the city under consideration ; and the name of Praye,[5] which we find applied to Helabas, seems to perpetuate that of the nation.[6]

Rennell. Rennell (1742-1830), the most celebrated of English Geographers, who has been held to be to England, what D'Anville was to France and Ritter to Germany, was the first to identify the site of modern Patna as that of the ancient Pâtaliputra, (Palibothra). In his " Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan," published in 1788, he says, that, at first, he thought that Canoge (Kanouj) was the ancient Palibothra, but he gave up soon that first erroneous identification. He says : " Late enquiries made on the spot, have however, brought out this very interesting discovery, that a very large city, which anciently stood on or very near the site of Patna, was named Patelpoot-her (or Pâtaliputra according to Sir William Jones) and that the river Soane, whose confluence with the Ganges is now at Moneah, 22 miles above Patna, once joined it under the walls of Patelpoot-her. This name agrees so nearly with Pâlibothra, and the intelligence altogether furnishes such positive kind of proof, that my former conjectures respecting Canoge must all fall to the ground."[7] Later on, he confirms this and says " Pliny's Palibothra, however, is clearly Patna."[8]

Thomas Pennant. Thomas Pennant (1726-1798), a known antiquary, began publishing in 1798, a work entitled "Outlines of the Globe." He published only two volumes. The other two were published by his son David Pennant in 1800. He, agreeing with

[1] "Compendium of Ancient Geography" by Monsieur D'Anville, translated from the French (1791), Part II, p. 543.

[2] Jamna.

[3] The Greek form of Hira myabaha, *i.e.*, "The Golden-armed," the ancient name of, Son.

[4] Allahabad,

[5] Prayâg

[6] D Anville, p. 543.

[7] Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan by James Rennell (1888), p. 50.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 54.

Rennell, identified the site near modern Patna with the ancient Palibothra or Pâtaliputra. He said : " Mr. Rennell .... very justly places it near Patna, and supposes, not without reason, that the Soane had once flowed near its walls and that Pâlibothra was seated on the forks of both rivers "[1] (the Ganges and the Son).

Col. Wilford.

Col. Wilford, at first, in 1798, thought that Pâlibothra was the same as Râj-griha (lit. the royal mansion) which was at first the capital city. One Bala-Rama "rebuilt it and assigned it as a residence for one of his sons, who are called in general Baliputras or the children of Bala. From this circumstance it was called Baliputra, or the town of the son of Bala; but in the spoken dialects it was called Bali-putra, because a putra, or son of Bali, resided in it. From Bali-putra, the Greeks made Pali-putra and Pali-bothra." [2] Then, in 1822, he thought that Pâlibothra and Pâtaliputra were two different towns, though near one another. He said "Pâlibothra and Pâtaliputra now Patna.....these two towns were close to each other exactly like London and Westminster." [3]

William Francklin, Buchanan Hamilton and others.

Col. W. Francklin in 1815, identified the site of Pâtaliputra with Bhagulpoor. He thus summed up his discussion : " If the evidence afforded by the hills which appear in the neighbourhood of the town and through a very great extent of what formerly constituted the Prasian kingdom, prior to the expedition of Alexander the Great ; if these and other connecting circumstances, as well local and historical as traditional, be conceded, it will, I think, be also conceded to me, that they apply, in every instance throughout the discussion, as more naturally indicative of the town of Bhagulpoor possessing the site of Pâlibothra and the metropolis of the Prasii, than either Rajmahal, Patna, Kanouj or Allahabad." [4]

In 1808, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton collected information from the priest near Patna which seemed to confirm Rennell's identification. This information was, that the oral tradition of the priests said, that the ancient name of the place was Pâtaliputra.

After this time, there came to light the two itineraries of the Chinese travellers who were Buddhist monks, Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang.

[1] "Thomas Penant's Outlines of the Globe," Vol. II. The View of Hindoostan, Vol. II. Eastern Hindustan (1798), p. 224.

[2] Asiatic Researches (1798), Vol. V, p. 269.

[3] Asiatic Researches (1822), Vol. XIV, p. 380.

[4] "Inquiry concerning the site of ancient Pâlibothra," by William Francklin (1817), part II, Preface p. III.

Their accounts of Pâtaliputra have been referred to above. The details of their accounts about Pâtaliputra, which they had visited as ancient seats of Buddhist learning, confirmed Rennell and Buchanan Hamilton's views that Patna was the site of the ancient Pâtaliputra. Though the topography of the place has been much changed, most of the geographical particulars of the Chinese travellers confirmed the above view and it was taken that the river Son[1] formerly joined the river Ganges at this place. The old bed of the river is still known as Mar-Son, *i.e.*, the dead Son.

VI.

(*C*) An Account of the Identification and Excavations of the Ruins of the Buildings, referred to by the Chinese Travellers.

The site of the old city of Pâtaliputra being settled as that at Patna, the next question was that of identifying the old Mauryan buildings referred to by old writers and by the old Chinese travellers, Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsiang. Col. Waddell gives an interesting brief narrative of these identifications. [2]

(*a*) In about 1845, Mr. Ravershaw declared that the mounds near Patna, known as Panch Pahari (lit. five mountains or hills) were the ruins of the bastions of the city of Pataliputra. The general opinion of the officers of the Archæological Department at that time, was, that, though old Pâtaliputra stood close to modern Patna, the traces of the old city did not exist at all, being carried away by river Ganges.

(*b*) In 1876, whilst digging a tank in a part of Patna, "the remains of a long wall" and "a line of palisades" of timber were first discovered. Mr. McCrindle notes this discovery in his Ancient India[3] (1877). (*c*) In 1878, General Cunningham, who has left his mark in the annals of the Archæological Department of India, differing from the general view of his department, affirmed, that most of the remains of the old city did still exist at Panch Pahari and Chhoti. He assigned the ground between these two places as the site for Asoka's old palaces, monuments and monasteries. The above-said general view continued to exist in spite of Cunningham's opinion. (*d*) But Col. Waddell, as the result of a hurried visit in 1892, with the aid of the accounts of the above-mentioned two Chinese pilgrims, confirmed Cunningham's view, that most of the remains of Pâtaliputra remained and were not washed

[1] The Erranoboas of the Greeks. Hira myabaha or the Golden-Armed, the ancient name of Son, seems to have given to the Greeks the name Erranoboas.

[2] Report on the Excavations at Pâtaliputra.

[3] Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, by J. W. McCrindle (1877).

away by the river Ganges. He not only confirmed Cunningham's view, but also identified the sites and land-marks of some of the buildings of the old city,[1] such as Prince Mahendra's Hermitage Hil, the Raja's Palace, Asoka's Palace, etc. He made two visits in 1892. His further excavations in subsequent years further identified many ancient buildings[2]. Mr. P. C. Mukerjee also had made some preliminary investigations.

VII.

The Story of Dr. Spooner's Excavations.

The story of the excavated building, as described by Dr. Spooner in his accounts of the Excavations[3] is briefly as follows :—

Dr. Spooner's excavations have been made at a place known as Kumrahar at Patna, where, about 24 years ago, Col. Waddell[4] had carried on some operations and had found some fragments of an Asokan column. He had then identified the spot, as that of one of the two Asokan pillars, referred to by Hiuen-Tsiang[5] as the Nili[6] Column. His discovery led the Government to think of further excavations at Pâtaliputra. The costliness of the work caused some hesitation which was removed by Mr. Ruttan Tata's generous offer of an annual gift of Rs. 20,000 to the Government of India on certain conditions. It was resolved to spend this sum at Pâtaliputra, and Dr. Spooner was entrusted with the work there. Col. Waddell, in his preliminary survey of the site, had, in a field near the village of Kumrahar on the south of Patna, found some fragments of polished stone with curved surfaces, which he thought were those of Mauryan pillars of Asoka. The reference, in the statements of the abovementioned two Chinese travellers, to two inscribed pillars of Asoka at Pâtaliputra, had led Col. Waddell to this identification.

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[1] Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pâtaliputra by L. A. Waddell, (1892).

[2] Report on the Excavations at Pâtaliputra (Patna), (1903).

[3] Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1912-13, 1913-14 and 1914-15.

[4] "Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classic Capital of Pâtaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks, and description of the superficial remains" by L. A. Waddell (1892), p. 12.

[5] "To the north of the old palace of the King is a stone pillar, several tons of feet high; this is the place where Asoka (Wu-yaú) Râja made 'a hell'.....The Saṅghârâmas, Deva temples, and *stupas* which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining (entire)" (Buddhist Records of the Western World, by Beal, Vol. II, pp. 85-86).

[6] *Vide* Ibid, Vol. I, Introduction, p. LVIII.

Dr. Spooner began his excavation on 6th January 1913, and soon found, that the polished fragments did not belong to any inscribed edict-pillar of Asoka, but to a Mauryan building. He then located the columns of such a building which was a large pillared-hall, the massive imperishable portions of which had disappeared by sinkage, due to the softness of the underground, the result of sub-soil water rising higher in later times. The perishable wooden portions, *viz.*, the roof, the floor, etc., were destroyed by fire as evidenced by layers of ash, found there. This ash was specially noticeable in the vertical spaces of the columns that had sunk. The tangible evidences of the existence of a pillared-hall, as seen at present, are few, but it is on what are called stratigraphical evidences that Dr. Spooner has based his inquiry. For example, he found that (1) heaps of pillar fragments lie in rows at regular intervals across the site, (2) that underneath these heaps of stone, descending holes occur, filled from above, and (3) that these holes are always round and of fixed diameter, and regularly spaced. From these and similar evidences he traces the existence of a pillared-hall on the site. As Dr. Spooner says, "the actual structure of the Mauryan hall has almost, if not entirely, disappeared. The excavation is thus thrown back upon the minutest possible scrutiny of the soil itself and those portions of debris which remain, for a determination of both the nature and position of the Hall and the process of its decay."[1]

Dr. Spooner, at first, located eight rows of monolithic polished pillars. Subsequently, he found a ninth row and hopes to find a 10th row as well. Each row has 10 pillars. As said above, all the pillars have disappeared by sinkage and their existence and position are determined only by the above said stratigraphical evidences. But, fortunately, one of the pillars has escaped sinkage. It has been recovered and supplies data, (*a*) not only for measurements for the rest, but (*b*) also for the nature and design of the lost palace. Thus, from the tangible evidence found on the site and from the tangible evidence of the one pillar that has been recovered and from the stratigraphical evidence, what is seen and determined is as follows: It seems, that at some time about the third century B. C., one of the early kings of the Mauryan dynasty built at Kumrahar several buildings within his palace enclosure. One of such buildings was this hundred-columned hall. The stone columns "presumably square" were arranged in square bays[2] over the entire area. They were 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter at base and about 20 ft. in height, placed each at the distance of 15 ft. or 10 Mauryan cubits from the other in rows

[1] Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1913-14, pp. 45-46

[2] *i.e.*, principal compartments or divisions marked by some leading architectural features, such as buttresses or pilasters on the walls, the main arches or pillars, &c.

which also were 15 ft. apart. The building, as shown by the ground plan, that was determined by the excavations, was one unlike any other ancient building in India. The superstructure was of sal wood. The building was in use for several centuries. At some time, in one of the early centuries after Christ, the building met with some mishap. One of the many columns seems to have fallen. Even after the mishap, the building was used, though restrictedly. Latterly, the building seems to have been destroyed by fire at some time about the 5th century A. D. The lower portions of the columns were somehow saved from the fire. Subsequently, attempts seem to have been made for some further use of the floor, and for that use, the stumps or the unburnt portions of some of the columns seem to have been forcibly broken by the new occupants. These broken portions were further broken into smaller fragments for pavement and for other building purposes by the new builders. Thus, the site was built over in Gupta times, at some time in the 8th century after Christ.[1] But, as with the advance of time and with the upward advance of the sub-soil water, some of the stumps of the columns, which were saved, sank below, the walls of the Gupta buildings built over the site gave way, and the site again became desolate. Since the fall of the Gupta houses, which, in many cases, must have been sudden, and which must have looked mysterious, the site has not been much built upon.

Such a building was unparalleled in ancient India. If so, the natural conclusion is, that it must have been modelled on some building of a foreign country. What was that foreign country and which was that building ?

Now, it has long since been known, (*a*) that Asoka's edicts were on the model of the edicts of the Achæmenian Darius of Persia (*b*) and that the style of the sculptured capitals[2] of his buildings was modelled on that of Darius' capitals at Persepolis. (*c*) Again, it has been, since some time, inferred, and that especially by Sir John Marshall from the Sarnath[3] capital, that the stonework of the Mauryan buildings was worked by foreign masons. That being the knowledge and experience of Indian archæologists, from the facts, (*a*) that the plan of the excavated building was altogether un-Indian or foreign and (*b*) that its " columns showed the peculiar Persian polish," Dr. Spooner thought, that, (*c*) in its design also it must have been influenced by Persia.

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[1] Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1913-14, p. 49. At first, Dr. Spooner (Report of 1912-13) thought, that this happened in the 5th or 6th century, but, after subsequent re-consideration in consultation with Sir John Marshall, he has modified his first view.

[2] From caput the head. The heads or the uppermost parts of columns, pilasters, &c.

[3] In the N. W. Provinces, Benares district.

Among the obligations, which Dr. Spooner so gracefully acknowledges in his Reports and papers, one that draws our special notice is that to his wife. It shows, how an educated wife, who participates in the noble aspirations of her husband's life work and studies, can, besides being helpful to her husband individually, be also helpful to the public generally. Her husband's plan of the Mauryan building, which he excavated, reminded Mrs. Spooner of what she had seen in the plan of Persepolis. Her suggestion easily led Dr. Spooner to a comparison of the plan of his building with "the so-called hall of hundred columns at Persepolis, the throne-room of Darius Hystaspes." He soon noticed several similarities, of which the following are the principal ones :—

1. There was a square hall with 10 rows of 10 columns evenly spaced in square bays (*i.e.*, with equal spaces between).
2. The Orientation or the process or aspect of fronting to the east and determining the various points of the compass was similar.
3. The mason's mark on the one column that has been recovered is similar to the mason's mark on Persepolitan columns.
4. The distance between the columns was regular. Darius's columns were 10 Persian cubits apart. The Mauryan columns are 10 Indian cubits apart.
5. The intercolumniation, *i.e.*, the space between two columns in the Indian building, though not identical, was one essentially Persepolitan.
6. Though no capitals or pedastals have been recovered at Patna for comparison, the stratification suggests (perhaps bell-shaped) pedastals of Persepolitan type, round in plan and about 3 ft. high.

These and other evidences of similarity suggested to Dr. Spooner for his operations, a working hypothesis, *viz.*, that the Pâtaliputra building had a Persepolitan building for its model.

7. The next thought, that suggested itself to Dr. Spooner was, that, if the Indian building was on the Persepolitan plan, it must not be isolated but must have other buildings near it, just as the Persepolitan palace of Darius had. Speaking in the known Roman style of *veni, vedi, vici*, we may say, he conceived, he measured and he conquered. With the plan of the Persepolitan palace, given by Lord Curzon in his monumental work on Persia,[1] in his hand, he measured, he dug and

[1] Persia and the Persian Question, Vol. II, p. 150, plan of Persepolis.

he soon found that the Indian palace or Sabha had some buildings equally distant from the main building as in the case of the pillared palace of Darius. He determined this fact from (*a*) the discovery of several mounds which were in positions equally distant from the site of the pillared hall, as were the other buildings of Darius from his Persepolitan Hall. (*b*) Again, these buildings stood on a raised area corresponding to the artificial terrace at Persepolis. (*c*) The whole plateau seemed to have been surrounded at one time, by a moat. These and other matters showed, that this Indian palace and the surrounding group of buildings had several essentials that were common to the Persepolitan palace and its surrounding group.

On the strength of some of these and other similarities, Dr. Spooner thought: "Enough was clear, however, to show us that not only was our original pillared hall strongly reminiscent of the Persian throne room, even in matters of detail, but that its surroundings also showed a parallelism to the Achæmenian site which could not possibly be explained except by the assumption that the one reflected the other definitely."[1]

Wooden architecture. A characteristic of Persia.

8. Dr. Spooner says, that stone not being easily procurable in this part of the country, wood was used. Arian, as said above, assigns another reason for the use of wood. But according to Fergusson, wooden architecture was the characteristic of Persia. He says: "We know that wooden architecture was the characteristic of Media, where all the constructive parts were formed in this perishable material; and from the Bible we learn that Solomon's edifices were chiefly so constructed. Persepolis presents us with the earliest instance remaining in Asia of this wooden architecture being petrified, as it were apparently in consequence of the intercourse its builders maintained with Egypt and with Greece. In Burma, these wooden types still exist in more completeness than, perhaps, in any other country. Even if the student is not prepared to admit the direct ethnographic connection between the buildings of Burma and Babylon, he will at any rate best learn in this country (Burma) to appreciate much in ancient architecture, which, without such a living illustration, it is hard to understand. Solomon's house of the forest of Lebanon is, without mere difference of detail, reproduced at Ava or Amarapura; and the palaces of Persepolis are reduced infinitely more intelligible by the study of these edifices".[2] It appears from this, that the builder of

[1] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, January 1915, p. 69. The discovery of the line of rampart was made subsequent to the date of the article. *Vide* the Annual Report of 1914-15.

[2] A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture by the late James Fergusson, revised and edited by James Burgess and R. Phené Spiers (1910), Vol. II, pp. 369-70.

the Mauryan palace, in using wood for a greater part of the work, did not depart from the practice of the Achæmenians.

Such is the interesting story of the excavations of Dr. Spooner; and we, laymen, read the story with wonder and amazement,—wonder and amazement, not only for all the events in the history of the building and its surroundings, but also for the daring flights of thought with which the comparatively modern science of archæology advances at present. The attempts of some of the archæologists at tracing the history and meaning of some buildings are, if not equal, at least akin, to the wonderful attempts of deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions by men like Rawlinson.

The meaning of these excavations.

The meaning of this "Mauryan replica of Persepolis" was this: The influence of Iran upon India was much more than it is ordinarily supposed. This newly recovered building presented the monumental evidence of this influence in a much more stronger light than hitherto presented. Several known archæologists had, ere this, seen monumental evidence, in various matters, such as the capitals, pilasters and what is called *motifs*. But, compared to what Dr. Spooner now presents before us, these are small matters. The evidence produced by Dr. Spooner's excavations is on a grand or monumental scale. In addition to these, Dr. Spooner produces literary, numismatic, and other evidences to show, that there was the probability, well-nigh amounting to certainty, of a very powerful influence of Irân upon India.

VIII.

The General Question of the Influence of Ancient Irân upon Surrounding Countries.

The general question of the influence of the West and the East on each other.

Scholars often discuss the question, as to how far, in ancient times, the West was influenced by the East, and the East, influenced by the West. The "East and West" are comparative terms. Greece and Rome formed the West, in comparision with Persia and India. In the case of these two latter countries, Persia formed the West and India the East. So, questions like these also have often arisen: "How far India was influenced by Greece and how far by Persia? How far these two were influenced by India? How far Persia was hellenized and how far Greece was iranized? How far India and Persia jointly or singly influenced Greece and Rome, and through them the western countries?" Scholars differ to some extent in these various

questions. The special question for us to-day is that of the influence of ancient Persia upon India. In order to better understand this particular question, we will first examine the general question of the influence of ancient Persia upon the countries with which it came into contact.

The ancient Persians, "the Puritans of the old World."

Ancient Persia had a great influence upon the countries with which it came into contact. It had its influence on Greece, Rome, Egypt, India and other adjoining countries. Among other influences, one was that of their religion, and, in this matter, they are spoken of as "The Puritans of the Old World."[1] I have spoken at greater length on this subject in my paper "Zoroastrianism. Its Puritans Influence on the Old World.[2]

Herodotus on the Persian religion.

Herodotus, while speaking of the Persians, says: "They have no images of the Gods, no temples nor altars and they consider the use of these a sign of folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the Gods to have the same nature with men, as the Greeks imagine."[3] In this passage, Herodotus seems to point to the superiority of the ancient Persians over his Greeks, in this, that, while the Greeks imagined their gods to be like men, the Persians did not believe so, and that, while the Greeks had images of their numerous man-like gods, the Persians had none. Here, we see, as it were, a germ of the appreciation of the Puritanic influence of the ancient Persians.

Prof. Max Muller's view about the Puritanic Influence of Zoroastrianism.

On the possible influence of the purer faith of Persia upon Greece, had Persia won in its war with Greece, the late Prof. Max Muller said as follows: "There were periods in the history of the world, when the worship of Ormuzd threatened to rise triumphant on the ruins of the temples of all other Gods. If the battles of Marathon and Salamis had been lost, and Greece had succumbed to Persia, the State religion of the empire of Cyrus, which was the worship of Ormuzd, might have become the religion of the whole civilized world. Persia had absorbed the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires; the Jews were either in Persian captivity or under Persian sway at home; the sacred monuments of Egypt had been mutilated by the hands of Persian soldiers. The edicts of the great King—the king of kings was sent to India, to Greece, to Scythia

[1] "Alexandria and her School" by Rev. Charles Kingsley, (1854), p 11. *Vide* for a similar view, "A Narrative of the operations of Capt. Little's Detachment" by Lieut. E. Moor (1794), p. 384.

[2] This paper was read before the first Convention of Religions, held in Calcutta in 1910. *Vide* my "Dante papers", pp. 92-122.

[3] Bk. I. 131. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 269.

and to Egypt ; and if ' by the Grace of Ahura Mazda ', Darius had crushed the liberty of Greece, the purer faith of Zoroaster might easily have superseded the Olympian fables".[1]

Iran's Influence upon Greece.

Iran's puritanic influence on Greece, and through Greece on other Westerners, though checked by the defeat of Persia, from spreading itself on a grand scale, had its limited effect. It seems to have continued even after the downfall of the Achæmenians under Alexander the Great. Persia had two great libraries, (1) the Daz-i-Napisht (*i.e.*, the Castle of Archives) at Persepolis, and (2) the Ganj-i-Shapigân or Shaspigân (*i.e.*, the treasury of Shapigân) somewhere near Samarkand. The first was destroyed in the fire set to one of the royal palaces by Alexander. Many of the books of the latter were, according to the tradition recorded in Parsee books, translated into Greek. [2] These translations may have exerted some puritanic influence upon the Greek mind and prepared the way for Christianity.

Mr. Grundy on the Influence of Persia under Cyrus and his Achæmenian successors over Greece.

Before the time of Cyrus, it were the Semitic people who ruled the East. Cyrus made the rule Iranian or Aryan. Mr. G. B. Grundy, while speaking of the importance of the Median Kingdom of Persia, thus refers to the change of rule in the East: " Its chief importance in history is, that its kings are the first of that series of Iranian dynasties which, whether Median, Persian or Parthian, were paramount in the eastern world for many centuries. From this time forward, the Iranian took the place of the Semitic as the Suzerain of the East".[3] It was King Cyrus, the founder of the Achæmenian dynasty, who, as it were, paved the way for the subsequent greater influence of Persia over India. His policy, to a certain extent, aimed at gathering together in unity most of the Aryan races against the Semitic races. Mr. Grundy thus refers to this policy : " His (Cyrus's) campaign in the East was a prolonged one. He seems to have extended the borders of his empire to the Thian-shan and Suleiman ranges, if not into the plains of India itself. His aim can hardly have been the mere acquisition of these enormous areas of comparatively unproductive territory. The reason lying beyond his policy was, in all probability, the fact that the races of this region were near akin to his own, and that he wished

[1] " Chips from a German workshop," 2nd Ed. (1880), Vol. I, p. 162.

[2] *Vide* my Paper on the Cities of Iran, as described in the old Pahlavi treatise of Shatroiha-i-Airan (Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XX, pp. 161-62). *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 153-154.

[3] " The Great Persian War and its Preliminaries." A study of the Evidence, literary and topographical by G. B. Grundy (1901), pp. 15-16.

to advance against the Semitic peoples at the head of a forced coalition of the Iranian races ".[1]

On the subject of the influence of Persia under Cyrus and his successors upon Greece, Mr. Grundy says as follows: "The hardy races from the mountains of Iran had many natural customs which were in strong contrast to the typical civilization of the Euphrates plain. Though far from ideal, there were certain grand elements in it, which struck the imagination of some of the finer minds of Greece, and which, through them, must have influenced Greek life, though in ways which it is not possible now to trace. Had the Greek come much under its influence, that influence, though it would have been disastrous in many respects would not have tended wholly for evil. The civilization was, indeed essentially of an eastern type..... The Medo-Persian was a strange product for an Asiatic soil. He was an Asian apart. His religious belief was alone educated to make him remarkable among his contemporaries. The Asiatic of this time had a natural tendency towards polytheism. The monotheism of even the Israelites was spasmodic. But with the Persian, monotheism was the set religion of the race. It had a legendary origin in the teachings of Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, as he appears in Western History. Ahura Mazda was the one God. There were, indeed, other objects of worship,—the stars, the sun, the moon, and fire, beautiful and incomprehensible works of Ahura Mazda; but he was God alone. Other spiritual beings there were, too, represented as deified virtues and blessings—Good Thought, Perfect Holiness, Good Government, Meek Piety, Health, and Immortality; and these stood nearest to Ahura Mazda's throne.[2]"

Dr. Cushman on the Influence of Iran upon Greece.

Dr. H. E. Cushman divides the time of Greek philosophy into three periods:[3] 1. The Cosmological Period 625—480 B. C. 2. The Anthropological Period 480—399 B. C. 3. The Systematic Period 399—322 B. C. Of these, it is the second, *viz.*, the Anthropological period, that is very important. As Dr. Cushman says: "It starts with a great social impulse just after the victories of the Persian wars (480 B. C.).....The period is called Anthropological, because, its interest is in the study of man and not of the physical universe "[4]

After the battle of Marathon, there sprang up a distinct impulse towards knowledge all over Greece. What makes the Persian wars particularly important is that they are the starting point in the mother-

[1] "The Great Persian War and its Preliminaries," by G. B. Grundy, p. 32.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 33-34.

[3] A Beginner's History of Philosophy, by Dr. Cushman, Vol. I, p. 13.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 13.

land of the movement in the study of man and human relations. Dr. Cushman, while giving an account of the ancient philosophy of the early Greek, thus speaks of the hold the Persians had upon Greece in the Achæmenian times. "The sixth century was a momentous one for Greece. In both, the East and the West, there arose mighty empires, that threatened to wipe out its civilization. The expansion of the Persian power (on the one hand) had suspended a stone of Tantalus over Hellas, and it seemed likely that Greek civilization might be submerged in an Oriental Monarchy."[1] Cyrus had laid the foundation of Persia by taking Media in 550 B. C., Lydia in 546 B. C., Babylonia in 538 B. C. Egypt was added by Cambyses in 528 B. C., and Darius organized the Great Persian possessions in his long reign from 528 to 486 B. C. On the west, Carthage was threatening the Greek cities of Sicily, and, at the close of this period, was acting in conjunction with Persia to obtain possession of the Mediterranean.[2]

Count Gobineau on the Influence of ancient Persia over Greece.

Count Gobineau, the celebrated French writer on the History of Persia, seems to regret that Greece triumphed over Persia at the battle of Marathon, and says, that Persia under the Achæmenian Darius gave to the Greeks much that was good. He says[3]: "Darius made great things. He instituted a powerful organization. The West had never seen anything like that..... That, which it had only in the Augustan century, is an intellectual development of a value analogous to that which determined the formation of Mazdeism and animated the philosophy and the arts of antiquity. All that which the Greeks learnt, all the serious things which Plato taught, all that which the archaic schools produced of masterpieces, had, at the time of Darius, its home and its prototype in Western Asia. But that which the Romans did not know and never practised, not even in the most celebrated reign of Antony, was the systematic kindness shown in governing the people, which became the rule since (the time of) Cyrus, and to which Darius showed himself faithful (*i.e.*, which he followed faithfully). Not only were the subjects treated with particular care, but (even) the rebels found extended to them an indulgence which circumstances permitted."

Darmesteter on the influence of Persia over Greece.

In the war with Alexander, though Persia was conquered, it was not hellenized, but, on the contrary, it iranized Greece. It continued its influence on Greece, which it had begun in its previous wars with that

[1] "A Beginner's History of Philosophy," by Dr. H. E. Cushman, Vol. I, pp. 15-16.

[2] Bury, History of Greece, p. 311.

[3] I Translate from his "Histoire des Perses," Vol. II, p. 143.

country. Professor Darmesteter [1] considers the victory of Greece over Persia, not only the victory of Greece, but the victory of humanity. But still, he admits, that though Greece conquered, her victory was only material, not intellectual or spiritual. He says : " In the war of revenge Greece did not win sufficiently. Her victory over Persia has been only a material victory, out of which she herself has suffered more than her victim. Alexander dreamed of uniting the West and the East. He succeeded only half ; he Persianised Greece ; and he did not hellenise Persia." [2]

Puritanic influence on Egypt.

Similarly, in Egypt, Persia had prepared the soil for Ptolemy the First's " New Deity." The object of this Egyptian monarch, known as Ptolemy Soter, *i.e.*, Ptolemy the Saviour, was to supplant the old Egyptian deities and to create " a new deity," by means of which he could consolidate his new rule in the country. He tried to do in Egypt, what Akbar tried to do, several centuries later, in India. He succeeded where Akbar failed. In his attempt, Akbar tried to assimilate directly in his new religion some of the elements of the Zoroastrian faith. Ptolemy did not do anything of the kind, but rested on the silent work of the Iranian Mazdayaçnans, who had preceded him as rulers in Egypt. Rev. Charles Kingsley thus speaks of his work : " He effected with complete success a feat which has been attempted, before and since, by very many princes and potentates, but has always except in Ptolemy's case, proved somewhat of a failure, namely, the making a new deity. Mythology in general was in a rusty state. The old Egyptian Gods had grown in his dominions very unfashionable, under the summary iconoclasm to which they had been subjected by the Monotheist Persians,—the Puritans of the old world, as they have been well called.[3]"

Iran's religion prepared the way for Christianity in Europe.

Though Greece, and, through it, Europe escaped from the direct influence of what Max Muller calls " the purer faith of Zoroaster," both had some indirect influence exerted upon them through the Greek colonies in the East, with which the ancient Iranians came into more frequent contact. It was this influence, however indirect or small, that paved the way for Christianity. Christianity was a puritanic improvement upon the religion of the Greeks and Romans, and the early Iranians had a hand in that improvement, inasmuch as it prepared the soil for Christianity. Later

[1] Coup de œil sur L'Histoire de la Perse, par Darmesteter (1885), p. 21.

[2] " Il a persisé la Grece, il n'a pas hellénisé la Perse" *Ibid*, p. 21.

[3] Alexandria and her Schools, by Rev. Charles Kingsley (1854), pp. 10-11.

on, Persian Mithraism, though a rival of Christianity, further prepared the soil. As said by Dr. Adeny, Mithraism brought about what he calls "the awakening" and "religious revival" which made the way of Christianity a little easier.[1] This Mithraic influence was exerted even up to the shores of England. The late M. Renan said: "If the world had not become Christian, it would have become Mithraistic."[2]

IX.

The Special Question of the Influence of Irân upon India.

The above short survey of the Influence of Irân upon Greece and Egypt, prepares us for the consideration of the present question of the Influence of Irân upon India. If, as said by Darmesteter, Irân, though conquered by Alexander, was in a position to iranize Greece instead of being hellenized, it is much more likely, that it should iranize, to some extent, a country like India that was conquered by it, and that was more nearly akin to it.

Dr. V. A. Smith on the influence of Iran upon India.

Many writers have referred to the influence of Irân upon India. Dr. Smith, who is one of the best authorities on the History of Ancient India, is of opinion, that the Achæmenian Persians had a great influence upon Mauryan India.[3] The Sassanians had also exerted great influence,[4] but we have not to deal with that later influence in the present case. Dr. Smith thus speaks of the Achæmenian influence in the times of Chandragupta and his immediate successors:

"The Maurya Empire was not, as some recent writers fancy that it was, in any way the result of Alexander's splendid, but transitory raid. The nineteen months which he spent in India were consumed in devastating warfare, and his death rendered fruitless all his grand constructive plans. Chandragupta did not need Alexander's example to teach him what empire meant. He and his countrymen had had before their eyes for ages the stately fabric of the Persian monarchy, and it was that empire which impressed their imagination, and served as the model for their institutions, in so far as they were not indigenous. The little touches of foreign manners in the court and institutions of Chandragupta, which chance to have been noted by our fragmentary authorities, are

[1] "Greek and Eastern Churches by" Dr. Adeny, pp. 10-11.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 10.

[3] "The Early History of India from 600 B. C. to the Muhammadan Conquest including the Invasion of Alexander the Great" by Vincent Smith, 2nd edition (1908), pp. 136-37, 153, 225. *Vide* also his article entitled "Persian Influence on Mauryan India" in the Indian Antiquary (1905), p. 201.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 253-255.

Persian, not Greek; and the Persian title of satrap continued to be used by Indian provincial governors for ages, down to the close of the fourth century A.D. The military organization of Chandragupta shows no trace of Hellenic influence".[1]

Evidences of Iranian influence on Mauryan India.

Dr. Smith has pointed out several evidences to show, that Achæmenian Iran had a strong influence on Mauryan India. Some of these are the following :—

1. Influence of Iranian architecture on Indian architecture.

2. The Achæmenian practice of inscribing on pillars and rocks and the style of the inscriptions, which were followed by Asoka in his inscriptions.

3. The Kharoshthi script came to India from the Armaic clerks of the Achæmenians.

4. Some of the features of the Mauryan administration and polity were taken from the Achæmenians.

5. Some of the Mauryan court customs were taken from the Achæmenian Iranians.

1. Influence of Iranian Architecture on Indian Architecture.

It has been long since known, that the Mauryan architecture was, to a certain extent, influenced by Iranian architecture. This is seen in several ways. (*a*) The style of some of the sculptured capitals of Asoka had its origin in the capitals of the Persepolitan palace of Darius. (*b*) The style of the huge monolithic sand-stone and other pillars of Asoka is also Persian. (*c*) The bas-relief sculpture of some of the Mauryan buildings, resembles that of the Persepolitan Persians.

The Capitals of Indian and Persian Architecture.

Fergusson specially points to the capitals in the caves at Bedsa, about 10 or 11 miles south of Karlé, near Lonavla, and says: "Their capitals[2] are more like the Persepolitan type than almost any others in India, and are each surmounted by horses and elephants, bearing men and women."[3] The Hindu artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adapting forms, very soon replaced the bicephalus (*i.e.*, two headed) bull and ram of Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes and even human figures in the most grotesque attitude."[4]

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 136-7.

[2] *Vide* Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, revised and edited by James Burgess and P. Spiers (1910), Vol. I, p. 139. Woodcut No. 64.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 138, n. 2.

According to Fergusson, the other caves or places, where capitals of the Persepolitan type are seen, are the following :—

1. At Bhaja, about 4 miles south of the Karlé cave, near Lanovla.

2. At Jamalgarhi, about 36 miles, north-east of Peshawar, where side by side with columns having classical capitals and bases, there are forms of Perso-Indian pillars.[1] Here "the capitals of the old Perso-Indian type have new forms given to them—the animal figures being changed, whilst the pillars themselves are placed on the backs of crouching figures with wings."[2]

3. The Tâtvâ-gumphâ caves near the Khandgiri hill in Orissa, where, "the doors are flanked by pillasters with capitals of the Persepolitan type."[3]

Mr. J. Kennedy, in his interesting article on "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India, 700—300 B. C.," thus speaks on the subject of the style of the monolyths and bas-relief : "If the elementary conceptions of the art and architecture (of India) was purely indigenous, there was abundant scope for the borrowing of detail ; and as a matter of fact, most of the details were borrowed from Persia. The pillar, indeed, was the only lithic form Persia had to "lend." It survives at Bharhut and in Asoka's monolyths, and it re-appears in the case of Western India. . . . . The borrowings in sculpture are much more numerous. The lotus and honeysuckle, the crenellations and mouldings, the conventional methods of representing water and rocks, are all taken from Persia. . . . . But the debt of India to Perso-Assyrian art is most strikingly apparent from two general observations.

"*First.*—The sculpture of India proper—the India of the Gangetic valley—is mainly bas-relief. . . . . The Indians apply their bas-reliefs after the Persian fashion. Their sculpture is lavished chiefly on the doors and vestibules, and the most important single figures guard the entrance of the gateways in India, as in Persia ; the sculptured users of the Jamalgarhi monastery recall, the inclined ascents to the palaces of Darius and Xerxes. Even the inscribed bas-reliefs of Bharhut—unique alas ! in Indian art—have their counterparts at Persepolis and Nineveh.

[1] *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 178, Woodcut No. 97.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 215.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

"*Second.*—The decoration of the late Vihâra caves. . . . . was Persian, and that not so much after the fashion of the Sassanians as of the Achemanids."[1]

2. The Achæmenian practice of inscribing on pillars and rocks and the style of language.

Asoka followed Darius in various ways in the matter of his edicts. (*a*) It was the practice of Darius to erect stelæ or pillars in the different countries which he conquered or through which he passed. For example, we learn from Herodotus, that in his march against the Scythians, he "surveyed the Bosphorus, and erected upon its shores two pillars of white marble, whereupon he inscribed the names of all the nations which formed his army." Again, we know of Egypt, that while digging the modern Suez Canal, some stelæ or pillars of Darius have been discovered near the canal, the inscription on one of which has been pretty well deciphered.[3] Asoka in his pillar edicts has followed this practice of Darius.

(*b*) Darius also inscribed on the sides of mountains. The best known instance is that on the rock of the Behistun mountain. Asoka also has some of his inscriptions on rocks; for example, the one at Junagadh, at the foot of the well-known hill of Girnar.[4]

(*c*) Among the several points of similarity suggested between the form of the inscriptions of Darius and the form of those of Asoka, there is one which strikes us most. It is that of the introductory sentences. Darius commences every part of his edict with the words "Thatiy Darayavaush Khshâyathiya, *i.e.*, "Thus sayeth Darius the King."[5] Compare with these, the words of Asoka, introducing the different parts of his edict: "Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King."[6]

(*d*) Again, as pointed out by Dr. Smith, "the idea of inscribing ethical dissertations on the rocks in the guise of royal proclamation seems to be of Persian origin. In the matter of the second mutilated inscription of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam, Sir Henry Rawlinson thought that it contained "The last solemn admonition of Darius to his countrymen with respect to their future conduct in polity, morals and

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1898, pp. 283-86.

[2] Herodotus, Book, IV, 87. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 80.

[3] *Vide* "Le Stele de Chalouf" by M. Menant. *Vide* my Paper on "The Ancient History of the Suez Canal", read before the B. B. R. A. Society on 15th April 1915, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, pp. 163-184.

[4] I had the pleasure of seeing this rock inscription on 27th October 1909.

"The sculptures and inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia, by the Trustees of the British Museum (1907), p. 1, *et seq.*

[6] The Edicts of Asoka, by Dr. Vincent Smith, p. 3, *et seq.*

religion." The language of the inscription on the "stéle de Chalouf" on the Suez Canal is altogether religious. It is in the line and spirit of the prayer of Grace to be recited at meals, as given in the 37th Chapter of the Yaçna.[1]

3. The use of the Kharoshṭi script.

The Kharoshti script of writing was introduced in India by the Achæmenian kings through their Armaic clerks.[2] The Kharoshti writing seen on the coins of the Western Khshapas (satraps) of Saurâshtra (Kathiawad) point to the northern origin of the kings.[3]

4. Features of administration and polity.

Some of the features of Mauryan administration and of the society of the times, as described by Megasthenes, are Persian in their character. Dr. Vincent Smith thus speaks on the subject: "The civil and military institutions of the Mauryan Empire as described by Asoka in his edicts and by the Greek writers were essentially Indian, modified in some particulars by imitation of Persian practices."[4] Dr. Smith adds: "The Mauryan sovereigns and their subjects were open in many ways to the influence of Iranian polity and civilization." Kautilya's Artha-Shastra[5] which was written by Chandragupta's Minister Chanakya, spoken of by Professor Jacobi as the Indian Bismark,[6] shows that Megasthenes had, for the source of his account of the court of Chandragupta, not only his own experience in the Indian Court, but also an Indian work like the Artha-Shastra. This book shows us that the Hindu nation of the time had, not only some dreaming spiritualists among them, but also some practical economists.[7]

5. Some Indian Court Customs of the Indian Kings believed to be taken from the Persians.
(*a*) Birthday feast customs.

Dr. Vincent Smith[8] points to two court customs of the Mauryas, as having been taken from the Achæmenian Kings. One of these is the custom of observing birthdays by the kings. Herodotus, while speaking of the Persians, says: "She (Amestris, the wife of King Xerxes) waited, therefore, till her husband gave the great Royal banquet, a feast which takes place once every year, in celebration of the King's birthday. 'Tykta', the feast is called in Persian tongue,

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[1] *Vide* my Paper on the Ancient History of the Suez Canal read on 15th April 1915. J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, No. 2, pp. 163-84.

[2] *Vide* the Mysore inscription, by Mr. Rice, p. 11.

[3] *Vide* The catalogue of Indian Coins, by Professor Rapson, Introduction, p. 100.

[4] Asoka Notes, by Vincent A. Smith, in the Indian Antiquary of September, 1905, Vol. XXXIV, p. 200.

[5] *Vide* Law's Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity. *Vide* also the recently published books "Public Administration in Ancient India," by Pramathanath Banerjea.

[6] *Ibid*, Introduction, p. XX.

[7] *Ibid*, p. X.

[8] The Indian Antiquary of September 1905, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 202-3.

which in our language may be rendered 'perfect'—and this is the only day in all the year in which the King soaps his head, and distributes gifts to the Persians. . . . The law of the feast . . . required that no one who asked a boon that day at the King's board should be denied his request."[1] This passage of Herodotus on the subject of the King's birthday requires some remarks.

Firstly, according to Herodotus, the observation of the birthday as a great day was common among all Persians. He says: "Of all the days in the year, the one which they celebrate most is their birthday. It is customary to have the board furnished on that day with an ampler supply than common. The richer Persians cause an ox, a horse, a camel, and an ass to be baked whole and so served up to them: the poorer classes use instead the smaller kinds of cattle. They eat little solid food but abundance of desert, which is set on table a few dishes at a time."[2]

Secondly, as to Tykta, the word for the King's birthday feast, George Rawlinson says: "No satisfactory explanation has been yet given of the word."[3] I think, that the word is some old Iranian form, from which comes the modern Persian تخته (*takhta*, a board), a table. This word *takhta* itself is a form that comes from Pahlavi takht, modern Persian *takht* تخت *i.e.*, a throne, a seat. The Pahlavi *takht*, Persian *takht* is derived from Avesta *thwakhshta*[4] which itself comes from the Avesta root '*thwakhsh*,' Sans. *tvakhsh* (त्वक्ष),[5] to pare, hew, cover. If we take the word Tykta, not for the birthday feast, but for birthday itself, I think (*a*) the word can be derived from the Avesta root tak, Sans. (तक), from which comes the modern Gujarati verb (ટકવું) to endure, to continue, to last. So, the word 'Tykta' may mean "the day of having continued or lived in this world for a particular period, *viz.*, a year." (*b*) Or the word may be derived from the same root (P. تاختن) which means to flow, to run, to hasten. Thus the word would mean "the period of life which has run," *viz.*, "a year." (*c*) Or perhaps it is some old Iranian word from which comes the Pahlavi word *takht*,[6] Persian *takht* تخت throne; and it means a particular day in honour of the occupant of the *throne*, *i.e.*, of the King.

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[1] Book IX, 110–11. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. IV, pp. 473-74.

[2] *Ibid*, Book I, 133, Vol. I, p. 273.

[3] Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. IV, p. 473, n. 3.

[4] *Vide* Mr. Steingass's Persian Dictionary, the word 'takht.'

[5] Mr. Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1890), p. 552.

[6] Ardai Viraf, Chap. II, p. 26.

Thirdly, as to the importance of the day, on which the king has an unusual bath and soaps his head, I think, it is a reference to a sacred bath. Upto a few years ago, many Parsees had, and even now, some in Bombay and many in the Mofussil have, a sacred ceremonial bath (*nân* Sans. स्नान) once a year. Now-a-days, it is generally taken on the Parsee New Year's day or the preceding day of the New Year's eve, or taken by some during any one of the last 10 days of the year. A few take it on their own birthday. In this sacred ceremonial bath, they apply to their body consecrated *nirang* or urine and a little sand. Herodotus refers specially to the head. Now, the Vendidad,[1] when it refers to the sacred bath for purifying the body, says that the washing should begin from the head (bareshnu). A particular sacred bath is, from that fact, still known as Bareshnum. The place, where that bath is given, is known as Bareshnum-gâh.

This above-mentioned custom is believed[2] to have been the source from which the following Indian custom referred to by Strabo was borrowed : " Historians also relate that the Indians worship Jupiter Ombrius (or the rainy), the river Ganges, and the indigenous deities of the country ; that when the King washes his hair, a great feast is celebrated, and large presents are sent, each person displaying his wealth in competition with his neighbour." [3]

(*b*) The custom of keeping long hair.

Strabo thus speaks of the Indians of the time when Megasthenes was in India : " The Indians wear white garments, white linen and muslin, contrary to the accounts of those who say that they wear garments of a bright colour ; all of them wear long hair and long beards, plait their hair and bind it with a fillet."[4] This Indian custom of keeping long hair among the Maurya Kings is believed by Dr. Smith to have been taken from the Achæmenian Iranians. The ancient Iranians kept their hair long. They seldom cut them. Even now, the priests are enjoined to keep beards which they are not to cut.[5] Old Iranian sculptures show that the Iranians kept long beards.

Herodotus thus refers to the Iranian custom of keeping the hair long : " For once upon a time, when the Argives had sent to Delphi to consult the God about the safety of their own city, a prophecy was given them, in which others besides themselves were inter-

[1] Chap. VIII, 40.

[2] Dr. Vincent Smith. Indian Antiquary of September 1905, Vol. XXXIV, p. 202.

[3] The Geography of Strabo Book, XV, Chap. I, 69. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 117.

[4] Strabo Bk., XV, Chap. I, 71. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 118.

[5] *Vide* for further particulars my " Presidential Address," Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 5, p. 343. *Vide* my " Anthropological Papers," Part II.

ested ; for while it bore in part upon the fortunes of Argos, it touched in a by-clause, the fate of the men of Miletus. I shall set down the portion which concerned the Argives when I come to that part of my history, mentioning at present only the passage in which the absent Milesians were spoken of. This passage was as follows :—

'Then shalt thou, Miletus, so oft the contriver of evil,
Be to many, thyself, a feast and an excellent booty :
Then shall thy matrons wash the feet of long-haired masters ;
Others shall then possess our lov'd Didymian temple'

Such a fate now befel the Milesians ; for the Persians who wore their hair long after killing most of the men, made the women and children slaves "[1]

We find an allusion in the Vendidad also to show that the ancient Persians kept their hair long. There, while speaking of a ceremonial bath of purification, it is mentioned that the hair and the body may be cleansed by *Nirang*. The fact, that the hair and body (*vareçaoscha tanûmcha*)[2] are spoken of separately, is significant. We generally take it, that "hair" forms a part and parcel of "body" and so when body is spoken of, hair is included in it. But here, the washing of the hair and body is spoken of separately. Thus, we see that the washing of the hair had its own special signification.

X.

The Literary part of Dr. Spooner's researches on the subject of the Influence of Iran upon India. The wave of Persian advance in India, as shown by Indian Literature.

Dr. Spooner's new theory.

The principal interest of Dr. Spooner's above-mentioned paper consists in its literary part, which seems to have thrown a bomb-shell, as said above, in the camp of Orientalists. In support of the discovery, that the Mauryan building at Pâtaliputra was copied from an Iranian building, he advances a good deal of literary evidence. That evidence is intended to show, that "upon the threshold of the historical period, a dynasty of almost purely Persian type"[3] ruled over India. That dynasty was the Mauryan dynasty, the founder of which, Chandragupta, "the first great Indian Emperor"[4] was a Persian Aryan, a Parsi.[5] He had Persepolis as his ancestral home. The

[1] Herodotus Book VI, Chap. 19.
[2] Vendidad, Chap. VIII, 11, S. B. E., Vol. IV.
[3] Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of January 1915, p. 72.
[4] *Ibid*, July Number, p. 416.
[5] *Ibid*, July, p. 429.

Mauryan dynasty was Zoroastrian.[1] Not only that, but Dr. Spooner, further on, says,[2] that Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was an Iranian sage and as such was Persian.[3] He affirms, that the palaces referred to in the Mahâbhârata are the Mauryan structures at Pâtaliputra, that the Asura Maya, to whose supernatural powers the construction of the structures is attributed, is the Ahura Mazda of the Zoroastrians, whom Darius often invokes in his Persepolitan inscriptions. He attempts to show, that the influence of Iran upon India was much more than what is ordinarily believed in by scholars. It was not confined to architecture. It was also in matters of religion. Buddha, the founder of Buddhism and Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty of India, and even his Minister Chanakya, were Persian, if not by birth at least by descent.

Supposed references in the Rigveda to early Persia and Babylon.

Dr. Spooner traces in the Mahâbhârata a reference to the attempt of the Mauryans, to build an Indian palace under the superhuman auspices of the Iranian Deity, Ahura Mazda. This reminds us of other attempts to trace references to Persia in the Rigveda and even of attempts to trace therein, the influence of Persia.

(*a*) According to J. Kennedy,[4] Dr. Brunnhoffer has, in his "Iran und Turan", turned the first three strophes of Rigveda V, 13, into a song of triumph over captured Babylon by the Medes, who were Iranian Aryans.

(*b*) Again, according to Mr. A. B. Keith,[5] Dr. Carl Schirmeisen "finds in the Rigveda, the work of three peoples", the first of whom were the Iranians, "whose influence is seen in the second, fifth and seventh books." He "decides that books II and III were first composed by the Iranians and the mixed people (the second of the above three peoples)."[6] In support of this theory, "Brunnhoffer's theory, that the dog is Iranian, is accepted as proving that Grtsamada Saunaka, and therefore the second book of Rigveda are Iranian."[7]

Buddha's story going to the West, *via* Persia.

In connection with Dr. Spooner's assertion, about Buddha being an Iranian sage, there is one fact which requires to be noticed. It is this: "The story of Buddha is said to have passed to the West through Persia, in later times. In some of the various versions of the transference of that story, Abenner, a king of the Indians, is the

[1] *Ibid*, p. 409. [2] *Ibid*, p. 406. [3] *Ibid*, p. 453.
[4] Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of 1898, p. 262.
[5] *Ibid*, Journal of 1910, p. 218.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 219.
[7] *Ibid*.

father of Joseph (Buddha). According to Joseph Jacobs, in the particular form of this Abenner's belief, "clear reference is to be found to the tenets of Mazdeism under the later Sassanides of Persia. The idolaters are spoken of as Chaldeans, and their faith as worship of the elements. There is a chief of the Magi referred to, whose relations with the king of the 'Indians' exactly corresponds to the position of the supreme Mobed in the Sassanide kingdom."[1]

What are said to be the "tenets of Mazdeism" in the Sassanian times, may be the tenets of old Zoroastrianism of the Achæmenian times. Anyhow, the father of Joseph (Buddha), an Indian King, is said to have some relation with a Chief Magi, a Mobadan Mobad. Thus, we see, that, in the later version of the story of Buddha on its way to the West, we find a reference to his connection with ancient Persia. A Chief of the Magi, a Mobadan Mobad, an Archimagus was in his Durbâr. Perhaps, he was to Buddha's father what Chânakya (taken to be Persian by Dr. Spooner) was to Chandragupta.

The Parsees have, on the one hand, reason to be proud to know, that their motherland of Irân had such an influence on their country of India, which their forefathers of the 8th century adopted as their own. On the other hand, if all that Dr. Spooner advances as the result of his literary studies be true, they have, as well, a reason to be sorry that the early followers of their faith, like Buddha and Asoka or their fathers, seceded from the stock of their parental belief. We know good deal of the three Magis, who, from their literal belief in the tradition of the coming apostle Saoshyos, went from Persia to see infant Christ and were converted. But, if all the new theory of Dr. Spooner be true, in Buddha, Chandragupta and Asoka, we have, including the doubtful case of Chandragupta, an early secession, previous to that of the three Magis of the Christian scriptures. Seceders though they were, they exerted a great Iranian influence upon India, especially as they were in the company of not a few but hundreds and thousands of Persians, who had, as it were, colonies of their own in India.

Dr. Spooner's theory about the wave of Persian advance in India.

One of Dr. Spooner's main points, based on various literary evidences, is, that bands of Persians had in old times, even in times anterior to Asoka and Chandragupta, spread in India and had gone even up to Orissa and Assam. The temple records of Jagannath, says: "That the Yavanas invaded Orissa[2] between 458 and 421 B. C. and again in the period between 421 and 300 B.C." Dr. Spooner tries to show that these Yavanas "were Zoroastrian tribes

[1] Barlaam and Josaphat, by Joseph Jacobs, (1896), Introduction, pp. XXI-II.

[2] Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, July 1915, p. 433.

from some part of the Persian realm."[1] In connection with this matter, it is interesting to note, that according to Fergusson, the Tâtvâ Gumpha caves near the Khandgiri hill in Orissa, have doors "flanked by pilasters with capitals of the Persepolitan type."[2]

Dr. Spooner adds Assam also to "the list of early Magian centres."[3] In short, the theory, depended upon by Dr. Spooner, on the authority of Indian evidence, *i.e.*, evidence from Indian literature, is this, that the ancient Persians had, long before the Mauryan dynasty, settled in various parts of Northern India, from the frontiers of Punjab in the west to Assam and Orissa in the east, and from the valley of Nerbudda in the south to the valley of Kashmir in the Himalayas to the north.

XI.

Iranian Evidence in support of the Indian Evidence.

Now we find, that there are several, what may be called, Iranian or Persian evidences which tend to support this theory of the presence of Iranians in India long before the Maurya dynasty. These evidences are the following :—

I. The Old Avesta Writings.

II. The Cuneiform inscription of King Darius the Great.

III. The History of Herodotus.

IV. The Numismatic evidence of the Punch-marked coins.

V. Later Pahlavi and Persian Writers.

XII.

I. The Old Avesta Writings.

In this connection, I would like to refer my readers to a paper of mine, entitled "India in the Avesta of the Parsees",[4] read before the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, on 2nd July 1913. I have shown there, that India is referred to in the old Avesta writings in four different places—(1) the Vendidad, Chapter I, 19 ; (2) Yaçna (Sarosh Yasht) LVII, 29 ; (3) Meher Yasht, 104 ; and (4) Tir Yasht, 32. Of these four, the reference in the Vendidad is the oldest and the most important.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 434.

[2] History of Indian and Eastern Architecture of Fergusson, revised and edited by Burgess and Spiers (1910), Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

[3] Journal R. A. S., July 1915, p. 434.

[4] Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, November 1913, Vol. IX, No. 10 (N. S.), pp. 425-436.

The countries of the World known to the ancient Iranians.

To the Iranians of the times of the Avesta, five countries of the then world were known. They were roughly speaking Irân (Airyanâm dakhyunâm), Turân (Tuiryanâm dakhyunâm), Rum or Asia Minor and Eastern Europe (Sairimanâm dakhyunâm), China (Sâininam dakhyunâm), and the country of the Dâhæ, a people of Central Asia (Dâhinâm Dakhyunâm).[1] Among these five, the first, Iran, the country of the Âiryas or Âryas, included several places or countries. Out of these, the principal 16 are named, the first being Airyana-Vaeja or Irân Vej, the Irân proper, and the 15th, or the last but one, being Hapta Hindu or India.

The place of India in the List of those countries.

Now the question, why India is mentioned as the 15th in the list, depends upon the question, as to what the first chapter of the Vendidad, wherein the 16 places are mentioned, is intended for. Scholars differ on this subject, and on the subject of the order in which the places are mentioned. Rhode, Lassen, Haug, Baron Bunsen and others thought, that the 16 places were the places to which, one after another, members or sections of the great Aryan or the Indo-Iranian race migrated. Spiegel thought that this first chapter of the Vendidad was merely a list of the countries known to the ancient Iranians. Darmesteter took it as an enumeration of the countries belonging to Iran (Ces seize contrées appartiennent toutes à l' Iran).[2] Others like Heeren, and Bréal took it to be a list of the places of the march of Iranian colonists, commencing from somewhere in Central Asia.[3] Harlez said that the first chapter of the Vendidad, wherein these places are mentioned one after another, is merely an enumeration of inhabited places (une simple énumération d' endroits habités)[4] and the writer only meant to establish the principle of his doctrine, that Ahura Mazda was solicitous for his people, but that Ahriman meant harm for them. Again, he adds, the writer had the object in view of giving the list of the countries in which Zoroastrianism had spread at this time. (Tout en poursuivant ce but il nous donne la liste des contrées dans lesquelles le Zoroastrisme s'éait propagé à cette époque[5]). I agree with Harlez in this, that it may be an enumeration of places, where, one by one, Zoroastrianism spread. I think, that this view may be held even with that of the idea of migration. The very fact, that the

[1] Farvardin Yasht (Yt. XIII), p. 144.

[2] Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Le Zend Avesta, p. 3.

[5] *Ibid.*

writer says, that, besides these 16 places named, there were other beautiful prosperous places (henti anyâoschit asâoscha shoithrâoscha srîrâoscha),[1] shows, that the writer has typically selected for mention the names of those famous places where Zoroastrianism had more or less spread. Thus we see that, as said by Harlez, India was one of the places where Zoroastrianism prevailed at the time when the Vendidad was written. The question is what was that time?

The age of the Vendidad.

The Vendidad, more especially the first chapter of it, wherein India is referred to, seems to be as old as about 1200 B. C. I will quote here, what I have said in the above paper about the antiquity of this writing.

"As stated by Dr. Haug, at least two facts lead to show, that the Vendidad, in which the name of India occurs as Hapt-Hindu, was written many centuries before Christ.

"Firstly, we learn from Herodotus, that Deioces of Media had founded Ecbatana (Agbatana, Hamdan). That was in B. C. 708. This great city of ancient Persia is not mentioned in the above list of the cities of the Vendidad. This fact, therefore, shows that the Vendidad, or at least this chapter of the Vendidad, was written long before B. C. 708.

"Secondly, the city of Balkh, which is named as Bâkhdi in the Vendidad, is spoken of there as the city of "Eredhvo-drafshâm", *i.e.*, the city of the exalted banner (drapeau). This statement shows, that it was still at that time the capital city of Bactria, and carried the royal banner. Now, we know that Bactria fell into the hands of the Assyrians at about B. C. 1200. So then, this particular chapter (Chap. 1) of the Vendidad must have been written long before B. C. 1200, when its exalted banner fell at the hands of the Assyrians. These facts then show, that India was known to the ancient Iranians as Hapt-Hindu, *i.e.*, as "the country of the seven rivers of the Indus, a long time before 1200 B. C." Major Clarke also, in his article on Merv in the Encyclopædia Britannica, places the Vendidad "at least one thousand two hundred years before the Christian era."[2] Anyhow we can safely say that it was written long before the time of Buddha.

[1] Vendidad, Chapter I, p. 21.

[2] 9th edition, Vol. XVI, pp. 44, Col. I.

The general concensus of opinion among Iranian scholars is, that the extant Avesta is a faithful remnant of the Grand Avesta of the Achæmenian times. A few scholars doubted its antiquity. The late Professor James Darmesteter was spoken of by Professor Max Muller as throwing a bomb-shell in the camp of Oriental scholars in this matter, inasmuch as he said, that, in some parts, the Avesta was post-Alexandrian.[1] But even he admitted, that the Vendidad belonged to the Achæmenian times or even to earlier times. Under the heading of Achæmenian and earlier elements he says: "There are essential doctrines in it (Zoroastrianism), the existence of which can be traced back far beyond the Parthian period and the Greek conquest, with historical evidence. One may, with certain accuracy, distinguish in Zoroastrianism what is old, pre-Alexandrian, or Achæmenian in form from what is late, or post-Alexandrian. The fundamental basis of Mazdeism, the belief in a Supreme God, the organiser of the world, Ahura Mazda, is as old as anything we know of Persia[2]" He then adds: "The Vendidad may be taken as the best specimen of the texts imbued with the pre-Alexandrian spirit, as its general laws are Achæmenian in tone, and a great part of it may be interpreted by means of classical testimonies regarding the Achæmenian age.[3]" He gives some principles or elements which determine, from his point of view, which particular part of the Avesta is Achæmenian and which not. Among such principles, one is that of the so-called dualism. He says: "The principle of dualism is pre-Alexandrian. This is implied, in the time of Darius, by the great king stating that Ahura 'created welfare (shiyâtim) for man'; in the time of Herodotus, by the religious war waged by the Magi against the ants, snakes, and other noxious creatures, which shows that the distinction of Ormazdian and Ahrimanian creatures was already in existence. Moreover, at the end of the Achæmenian period, Aristotle knows of a Good Spirit and the Evil One, Zeus—Oromazdes and Ades—Areimanios."[4]

The Vendidad, spoken of as pre-Achæmenian by Darmesteter.

Now, this principle of two conflicting supreme powers, one good and the other evil, Ormazd and Ahriman, is seen to be prominent in the Vendidad, and pre-eminently prominent in its first chapter which treats of the 16 countries belonging to Iran. For every good thing associated with the 16 countries, Ahriman associates an evil. In the

[1] *Vide* my Paper on "The Antiquity of the Avesta", Journal, B. B. R. A. Society. Vol. XIX, pp. 263-87. *Vide* my "Asiatic papers", Part I, pp. 41-136,

[2] S. B. E., Vol. IV, 2nd edition, p. LX.

[3] S. B. E., Vol. IV, 2nd edition, Introduction, p. LXV.

[4] *Ibid*, p. LXI.

case of India, the 15th in the list, the evils are that of the state of early abnormal menses in women and excessive heat, which we find even now. Thus, we see, that even if the Vendidad be placed not so early as the time before the 12th century B. C., it has been placed in Achæmenian or pre-Achæmenian times by a scholar like Darmesteter who doubted the antiquity of the extant Avesta as a whole.

Origin of the names, Hindustan and India.

The very name by which the country of India, the Bharata varsha or Bharat's continent, was and is known to the civilized world, points to a very old connection between the two countries and to the influence of Iran upon India. We know, that the river Indus first gave its name to the country watered by it and its tributaries, as Industan or Hindustan. At first, only the country of Punjab and the country surrounding it, which was and is watered by these rivers, was known by that name. Even now, it is not rare to hear people, coming here from the North, from the Punjab and the neighbouring country, say, that they came from Hindustan. Then, latterly, the name began to be applied to the whole peninsula.

Now, the Sanskrit, or what may be called the indigenous name of the river Indus is Sindhu, not Hindu from which the word Indus has come. The Rigveda[1] speaks of the Indus with its tributaries as Sapt-Sindhavas (*i.e.*, the country of the seven Sindhu rivers), not as Hapt-Hindavas. It is the ancient Iranians, the followers of the creed of Zoroaster, who first spoke of the river as Hindu and called the country as Hapta- Hindu.[2] We read in the Vendidad :

Panchadasêm asanghâmcha shôithranâmcha vahishtem frâthweresem, azem yô Ahurô Mazdâo, yô Hapta-Hindu, hacha ushastara Hindva ava daoshatarem Hindûm. Âat ahê paityârem frâkerentat angrô mainyush pouru-mahrkô arathwyâcha dakhshta arathwimcha garemâum.

Translation :—I, who am Ahura Mazda, created, as the fifteenth best place and country, (the country of) Hapta Hindu, (which extends) from the East of the Hindu (river, *i.e.*, the Indus) up to the West of the Hindu. Then, the evil spirit created therein, as counter-acts (against its excellence) excessive menstruation and excessive heat.

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[1] Mandala (Book), IV, Hymn 28 अहिं अरिणात सप्तसिंधुन. *Vide* Max Muller's Text of the Hymns of the Rigveda (1873), p. 286, Book IV, Hymn 28. *vide* "The Hymns of the Rigveda" by Ralph T. H. Griffith (1890), Vol. II, p. 140.

"Allied with thee in this thy friendship, Soma, India, for man made waters flow together, Slew Ahi, and sent forth the seven rivers (Sapta Sindhu), and opened as it were the obstructed fountains."

[2] "Hapta Hindu repond aux Sapta Sindhavas des Vedas". (Le Zend Avesta par Darmesteter, Vol. II, p. 14, n. 42).

We learn from this passage of the Vendidad, the following facts about India :—

(1) That India was the fifteenth of the 16 Âryan countries known to the early Iranians, as created or blessed by God.

(2) It was known as Hapta Hindu.

(3) The country watered by the Indus formed India, and its boundary latterly extended further both ways, towards the East and the West.

(4) It had, as it were, two curses or miseries associated with it.

Let us now examine these facts. We find, that the country is known, not only by foreigners but by the people of the country itself, not by its old indigenous name which should be Sindhustân, but by its Iranian or Zoroastrian name Hindustân. The people of the country also are known by their Iranian or Zoroastrian name, 'Hindus,' and not by its old indigenous name which should be Sindhus. 'India,' the western or the European name of the country was first taken up by the Greeks from the Iranians, who called it 'Hindu.' The Greeks gave the name to the Romans. These two countries subsequently gave it to the whole of the western world.

The name of India in the Old Testament.

In the old Testament of the Bible, the country of India is thus referred to : "Now it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus (this is Ahasuerus which reigned, from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces)."[1] In the original of this version, the old Hebrew word for India is Hoddu. The Hebrew form Hoddu is said to be contracted from Hondu,[2] another form of Hindu, the Avestaic name of the Indus or the Sindhu. Again, we must note, that in this book of the Old Testament, the Persian king Ahasuerus (Xerxes, B. C. 485-465) is believed to reign over India.

From all this, it follows, that, if ancient Persia gave its Iranian or Zoroastrian name to India and replaced its indigenous name, it must have had very great influence upon the country in various spheres of its activity.

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[1] The book of Esther, Chap. I, 1. *Vide* also Chap. VIII, 9.

[2] *Vide* the word India in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.

XIII.

II. The authority of Cuneiform Inscriptions.

Next to the Avesta, we have the authority of the Cuneiform Inscriptions to say, that India had come under the influence of Irân as one of the satrapies of Darius the Great. In his two inscriptions, those of Persepolis,[1] and Nakhs-i-Rustam, [2] Darius mentions, among his conquered countries, the name of India as Hidush [3] or Hindush. The fact of this mention in his inscriptions suggests, that with its conquest, Persia must have exercised a great influence upon India.

XIV.

III. The Authority of Herodotus.

Next to the Cuneiform inscriptions, we have the authority of Herodotus to say, that India was one of the satrapies, and that the richest, of Darius, and that as such, it must have been under the powerful influence of Iran. Herodotus says: "The Indians who are more numerous than any other nation with which we are acquainted, paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people, to wit, three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust. This was the twentieth satrapy." [4]

The value of a talent differed in those times in different countries. Rawlinson says: "If the later Attir talent was worth £243 15s. of our money, the Euboic (silver) talent would be £250 8s. 5d. and the Babylonian £292 3s. 3d ".[5] Taking it, that the Persians counted by the Babylonian standard, the Indian tribute to Darius came to (360 by £292 3s. 3d.) £105,178 1s., *i.e.*, Rs. 15,77,670-12-0, *i.e.*, in round figures to about 16 lacs of rupees. Thus, India which paid the largest tribute to Persia, must have come under some powerful influence of the paramount power.

Darius, not a flying conqueror.

We must remember, that Darius was not a flying conqueror of India, who overran the country, amassed wealth and retired. No, he wanted to explore and to retain the country for the good of his own country of Persia and of his conquered country of India. He directed his Admiral Scylax to explore the whole country watered by the Indus from Cashmere down

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1 Dr. Tolman's Guide to the old Persian Inscriptions, pp. 77 and 144.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 79 and 146.

3 The Hebrew old Testament gives the name of India as Hoddu. In the inscriptions as given by Tolman, the letter 'n' is included in brackets. Is it that the letter is omitted by the engraver by mistake? and if so, is it that the writer of the book of Esther followed that mistaken engraving?

4 Book III, p. 94, Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 485. 5 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 482, n. 5.

to the sea, and from there along the coast to the Persian Gulf. He developed commerce between Persia and India. With that object, he connected the Red and the Mediterranean seas, by a canal, ending at this extremity at Suez. His was the first complete Suez Canal,[1] which ran from one sea to the other, *via* a branch of the Nile.

XV.

IV. Punch-marked coins.

Punched or Punch-marked coins, *i.e.*, the coins in which the design is punched into the metal, are long since referred to as pointing to Iranian influence in India. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji said on the subject of these coins : "Some of the Sassanian Kings (between the 6th and 8th centuries) may have established their rule somewhere in these districts (Malwa) and had their currency issued, and their successors (the Chauda and Chalukya of Anhilwâda) retained and copied the same type for their coinage."[2] A similar influence is inferred from the Godhra coins of India. But it is now pointed out, that the punch-marked coins belong to the monetary system of the Achæmenides who are believed to have taken the type from the Babylonians.

Mr. J. Kennedy speaks of these punch-marked coins as Purânas and gives an interesting account of " the Babylonian shakels, punched for giving and receiving " in which they had their origin *via* Persia.[3] In connection with this matter, Mr. J. H. Decourdemanche, in his Paper on "The Ancient punch-marked coins of India"[4] says that the Persians had some relations with India even before the conquest of India by the Achæmenides. He thinks that the introduction of the system of punch-marked coins into India[5] from Persia may have taken place even before the Achæmenian conquest. The conclusion, which this writer comes to on several grounds, is this : " Nous croyons avoir demontré que les *punch-marked* d' argent et de cuivre constituent simplement une variété hindoue du monnayage perse achéménide. Cette variété ne diffère de celui ci que par l'empreinte."

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[1] *Vide* my paper on the Ancient History of the Suez Canal. Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (1915).

[2] Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XII, pp. 525-526.

[3] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of England of 1898. Article on " The Early Commerce of Babylon with India " pp. 277-82.

[4] " Note sur les Anciennes Monnaies de l'Inde dites 'punch-marked' coins et sur le systéme de Manou," by M. J. A. Decourdemanche. " Journal Asiatique Dixième serie, Tome XIX 1912, pp. 117-132.

[5] Punch-marked silver and copper coins have been recently found at Rajgir in the district of Behar (Journal, Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 3).

The punch-marked coins have the following symbols : (1) A single solar symbol ; (2) A complex solar symbol, containing the "taurine as an element" ; (3) A branch ; (4) A humped bull with taurine ; (5) and a chaitya. Dr. Spooner explains the symbolism of some. Of the second symbol, he says : "What the second complex symbol is, I cannot say, but it contains the taurine element."[1] I will here explain the symbolism from a Zoroastrian point of view.

The symbols on the punch-marked coins.

Two symbols refer to the Sun. If we take them to be Zoroastrian symbols, they represent the Khorshed and the Meher, the Hvarekhshaêta and the Mithra of the Avesta. The Parsees, when they recite their prayers of adoration to the Sun every morning, recite the Khorshed and Meher Nyâeshes together. Khorshed is the presiding Yazata over the Sun himself. Mithra or Meher presides over light, both physical and moral. A Parsee never recites the prayer in honour of Khorshed alone. Such a recital is incomplete. The prayer in honour of Meher or Mithra must also be recited. Both go together. "Khorshed Meher karvi" (lit. to do Khorshed Meher) is a colloquial form for reciting the daily prayers of the three day-periods. The symbolic connection of Mithra with bull is well-known. Mithraic bulls played a prominent part in Iranian sculpture.[2]

Dr. Spooner takes the third symbol of the branch to represent Haomâ. But it must be taken to represent the Barsam which is still used by Parsee priests in liturgical services. At one time, they were made of the twigs of a tree, but, now-a-days they are made of metallic wires, which may be of copper or even of silver or gold. They are used now in the long prayer of grace (Bâj) which the Parsee priests recite before meals when they hold the *khub* for a higher liturgical service. It appears from Firdousi and Nizami, that the ancient Persian kings used this Barsam as a religious requisite when the prayer of grace was recited on the royal table. Such a use by Chosroes II (Khushru Parviz), in the presence of a Christian Ambassador from the Court of his Royal father-in-law Maurice, the Emperor of Rome, had led to a conflict.[3]

The humped bull, I think represents the Moon, which is spoken of in the Avesta as *gao chithra*, *i.e.*, cow-faced or with the origin of cow.

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[1] J. R. A. S. of July 1915, p. 412.

[2] Even in some visions of St. Michael, whose account resembles somewhat that of Mithra, we find references to bulls. *Vide* my Paper, "St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians." Journal, Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VI, No. 5, pp 37-53. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," pp. 175-190.

[3] *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years," pp. 88-90.

The crescent of the moon represents, as it were, a figure formed by the uplifted horns of a bull.[1]

The last symbol is the Chaitya which is taken to demonstrate a mountain. That is possible from a Zoroastrian point of view. A mountain may be taken to symbolize land or earth. The Jamyâd Yasht, (Yt. XIX), which, according to its name, refers to land, contains an enumeration of mountains of the then known world. It also principally refers to the Kharenangh or Khoreh, *i.e.*, the Glory or Nimbus of the Iranian kings. As such, then, the symbol of a mountain, which in its turn symbolizes land or the earth, can very appropriately be represented on the coins of kings. Thus, we see, that the symbols of the punch-marked coins, which are traced from the Achæmenian kings of Persia, represent the grand objects of Nature,—the Sun, Moon, Light in general, the earth and the great vegetable world, which all, as grand objects of Nature, lead the mind of a Zoroastrian from Nature to Nature's God.

Though the punch-marked coins had their first origin in Babylon, as far as the punching or marking was concerned, it were the Achæmenians that modelled the Indian coins. One can easily find this from the account, given by Mr. J. Kennedy, in his above article of the Babylonian coins. The symbols in the punch-marked coins of India are more Zoroastrian than Babylonian.

The conclusion from these four sources of evidence.

The conclusion that we come to from the consideration of the above four evidences of the Avesta, the Cuneiform inscriptions, Herodotus, and the Punch-marked coins, is, that India was under a strong influence of Persia long before the Mauryan dynasty of Chandragupta. These evidences support the view of Dr. Spooner, that Persia had greater influence upon India than what is ordinarily supposed. Persia had that influence not only upon India's architecture, but also upon its people, its administration and polity, and upon its religion.

XVI.

V. Later (A) Pahlavi and (B) Persian writers.

The fifth class of evidence, upon which I am now going to speak, may be held, and that very properly, not to be very important. In itself, some may hold it to be very weak. But still it requires some consideration, because, though it may appear weak in itself, standing alone, it has a value of its own in connection with the above

[1] *Vide* Dr. Louis H. Gray's very interesting paper on "Mâongha Gâochithra" in the Spiegel Memorial Volume, edited by me, pp. 160-68.

evidence as showing the tradition of later times in the matter of the connection between Persia and India, and of the consequent influence. At first, we will examine the Pahlavi writings of the Parsis.

(A) Pahlavi writers.

Of course, looking to the times in which they were written, they cannot be taken as an authority upon a subject of older times—Achæmenian or pre-Achæmenian—we refer to. But we must bear in mind, that they had some older books before them—some of the lost *nasks* or parts of them—for their materials. So it is worth collecting and examining some passages of the Pahlavi books.

(*a*) Pahlavi writers on a coming Zoroastrian apostle, predicted to come from India.

Some Pahlavi and Persian writings speak of a future Zoroastrian apostle, Behrâm Varjâvand, as coming from India. In the Pahlavi Mâdigan-i-Binâ-i-Farvardin Yum-i-Khordâd, [1] this future apostle (Vahrâm-i-Varzâvand) is predicted to appear from among the Hindus (min Hindukân). The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht,[2] also refers to this passage I think the whole passage referring to this coming apostle is worth quoting. It may lead to some inquiries and investigations from an Indian point of view :

"Aûharmazd spoke thus : O Zaratûsht, the Spîtâmân ! when the demon with dishevelled hair of the race of Wrath (Aisham or Khashm or Hasham) comes into notice in the eastern quarter, first a black token becomes manifest, and Hûshêdar, son of Zaratûsht, is born on lake Frazdân. It is when he comes to his conference with me, Aûharmazd, O Zaratûsht, the Spitâmân ! that in the direction of Chinistân, it is said—some have said among the Hindus—is born a prince (kai) ; it is his father, a prince of the Kayân race, approaches the women and a religious prince is born to him ; he calls his name Vahrâm the Varjâvand, some have said Shahpûr. That a sign may come to the earth, the night when that prince is born, a star falls from the sky ; when that prince is born the star shows a signal. It is Dâd-Aûharmazd who said that the month Âvân and day Vâd is his father's end ; they rear him with the damsels of the king, and a woman becomes ruler. That prince when he is thirty years old—some have told the time—comes with innumerable banners and divers armies, Hindu and Chini, having uplifted banners—for they set up

[1] The Pahlavi Text by Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherji, p. 105, ll. 7-8. *Vide* the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume (p. 127,) edited by me, for the translation by Dastur Kaikhushru.

[2] Chap. III, 14, S. B. E. V., p. 220. The Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht by Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad, p. 15, l. 5.

their banners—having exalted banners, and having exalted weapons; they hasten up with speed as far as the Veh river,—some have said the country of Bambo,—as far as Bukhâr as the Bukhârans with its bank." [1]

The Persian Zarthosht-nameh [2] of Zarthosht Behram Pazdû also speaks of the future apostle (Behram Varzâvand) as appearing from India. He will, at the age of 21, take an Indian army to Persia and spread peace and plenty.

I think, that the fact, that the Pahlavi writers expected, perhaps on the authority of some older writings, the appearance of an apostle in the land of India, shows, that they took it as granted, that at one time, India, or at least a large part of it, was Zoroastrian, and therefore a likely place to give birth to a new apostle.

(*b*) Pahlavi writers on Zoroastrian books scattered in India.

The Pahlavi Dinkard [3] (book IV, p. 26) speaks of some Zoroastrian books as "scattered among Hindus," and of Shapur I, the son of Ardeshir Babegân (Artaxerxes the founder of the Sassanian dynasty) collecting them for his work of the Iranian Renaissance. This fact also shows, that India was looked at as a country that had passed under some Zoroastrian influence, and therefore in a position to contain some Zoroastrian writings.

(*c*) The Pahlavi tradition of King Gustasp's son Asfandyar and brother Zarir having come to India for the spread of Zoroastrianism.

There is one other subject in the Pahlavi-Pazend books, which draws our special attention, and that is that of King Gustasp sending his son Asfandyâr and his brother Zarir to India to spread Zoroastrianism. This subject is recorded in the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar.[4] There we read "Kai Spudakht Spendadad-u-Zargar (Zarir). . . . . Hindukân bê-keshwar pa din ravânidâri farnaft hend", *i.e.*, "Princes Asfandyar and Zarir roamed about out of their country to the country of the Hindus for the spread of religion." This statement of the Pahlavi book is supported by Firdousi's Shahnâmeh and other Persian books, and it shows, that from the very time of the prophet and immediately after, the Zoroastrian religion was believed to have begun exerting some influence on India.

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[1] The Bahman Yasht, Chap. III, 13-17. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, pp. 220-221.

[2] *Vide* "Livre de Zoroastre de Zartusht-i Bahram ben Pajdû, publié et traduit par Frédéric Rosenberg, St. Petersburg, 1904, pp. 76-77 for the text; pp. 76-79 for the French translation.

[3] S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, Pahlavi Texts, Part IV, p. 414.

[4] Chap. X, pp. 67-68, Drs. Hoshang and West's Pazend Sanskrit Text (1887), pp. 74-75. S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 171.

XVII.

After having examined the Pahlavi writers, all of whom were Parsees, we will now examine some Persian writers, some of whom were Parsees and some Mahomedans.

(B) Persian writers.

(a) The Tradition of Changragâch.

There is the tradition of an Indian Brahmin, named Changragâch, having gone to Persia to oppose Zoroastrianism. It may be connected with the above tradition of the work of Asfandyâr. When the learned Brahmin saw Persians coming to India to turn his people to the faith of Zoroaster, he, as it were, thought of carrying war into the enemy's country. He went to oppose, but returned convinced about the new faith. The tradition is referred to by the Desatir and the Dabistan, and recorded at some length in a Persian treatise known as Changragâch-nâmeh by Zarthusht Behram Pazdu. This treatise is believed to claim a Pahlavi source for its materials.[1] The tradition[2] says that Changragâch returned to India fully convinced, and, in his turn, converted about 80,000 Indians into Zoroastrianism.[3]

Changragâcha and Chandragupta.

In view of this tradition of Changragâcha and in view of the present theory of Dr. Spooner, that the Mauryans were Zoroastrians, may I put forth the suggestion of the equation of Changragâcha and Chandragupta? Pahlavi scholars can very easily understand, that the first part of these two names can be read both as Chandra and Changra, because the Pahlavi 'd' can be read 'g' also and *vice versa*. Then the 'p' of the latter part of the Indian name Gupta can also be read as 'ch'. Then the last 'ta' can be taken as dropped. We have several instances of such omissions. For example, the Avesta Takhmarupa has latterly become Tehmuraspa and then Tehmuras in Persian, the the last 'p' being dropped. Thus the equation of Chandragupta and Changragâcha can stand well. Pahlavi readers can well understand the equation, step by step, thus :--Chan*d*ragupta=Chan*g*ragu*p*ta= Changragac*h*ta, Çhangragacha.

But one may point out this difficulty, that tradition connects Changragâcha with the times of Zoroaster, while Chandragupta belongs to later times. But that does not present much difficulty. The

[1] *Vide* Professor Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran," p. 85.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 86.

[3] Anquetil Du Perron in his "Vie de Zoroaster" makes much use of this Persian book according to which, Jamasp, the minister of Gushtasp, had, at first, taken some lessons from him on miscellaneous subjects. (Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie II, pp. 47-53.)

tradition of later times may have taken Changragâcha (Chandragupta) to earlier times. We have the instance of an event of the reign of king Minocheher. When the Pahlavi Bundehesh[1] connects the event of the king's confinement in the fort of Padashkvârgar with king Minocheher, the Persian Shah-Nameh[2] connects it with his successor king Naotara or Naodara. Cases like this often happen, especially in the case of great historical personages. Events that have happened in later times are attributed by the people of subsequent times to eminent personalities of the preceding ages. For example, take the case of the very Persepolitan palace of Darius which is shown to have served as a model of the Mauryan palace at Pâtaliputra. In later times, people began to attribute that palace to king Jamshed, and the ruins of the buildings are still known by the Persians as those of Takht-i-Jamshed, *i.e.*, the throne of Jamshed. Jamshed was a great monarch of the Peshdadian times. Many an institution of old Persia had been founded by him. So, in later ages, people who had forgotten much of what Darius had done, attributed his and his successors' palatial buildings, which they thought no ordinary human beings could build, to the great Jamshed.

History supplies another instance of this kind in Alexander the Great, who was a great personality of his times and whose exploits had left a powerful mark, upon the minds of many. People attributed to him some divine origin and he himself allowed that belief to be spread. The extraordinary works of many a person of later ages have been attributed by tradition to Alexander. For example, we find from Anquetil Du Perron,[3] that the Brahmins in the Salsette, attributed the caves of Jogeshri, Monpeser and Kanneri, situated at about 15 to 20 miles from Bombay, to Alexander the Great.[4] The Brahmins even said, that their books said so.[5] Many a wise saying of later times, have been attributed to King Solomon and to other great kings. Thus, it is no wonder, if the tradition of a later age, of Chandragupta (Changraghâcha) being an Iranian or Zoroastrian, has been carried subsequently to the earlier times of Zoroaster himself.

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[1] Chapter XXXI, pp. 21-22, S. B. E., Vol. V, pp. 135-36.

[2] Mohl, Vol. I, p. 424.

[3] Zend Avesta Tome. 1, Partie 1, p. 392.

[4] *Vide* my Paper "Anquetil Du Perron, Bombay, as seen by him." Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, XXIV, No. 2.

[5] "Les Brahmes pretendent qu'il est ecrit dans leurs Annales, que les excavations de Djegueseri et de Monpeser, ainsi que celles de Keneri, sont l'ouvrage d'Alexandre le grand; mais ils ne produisent pas ces Annales; fet leur folie est d'attribuer a'ce Prince ou aux Dews, se qui lour paroit au-dessus des forces ordinaires de l' homne (Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie 1, p. 392).

The Authority of the Changragach-nameh.

One may doubt the authority of the Changragâch-nâmeh of Zarathusht Behram Pazdu, as being that of a later Persian writer. But we must know, that though he is a later writer, he had materials of a much earlier age before him. He was also the author of the traditional life of Zoroaster in Persian, known as Zarathusht-nameh. We know by comparison, that most of what he said about the traditional life of Zoroaster, has been confirmed by Pahlavi books like the Dinkard and Zâdsparam, written in Persia long before him.[1] Take a specific instance. He says, that while all children wept on birth, Zoroaster laughed.[2] Now, that matter has been referred to, not only by the Pahlavi Dinkard[3] and Zadsparam[4] but also by other Persian writers like those of the Shahrastani, Dabistan,[5] and Rauzat-us-safa.[6] It has been also referred to by Pliny[7] and Plato[8] and also by the writer of the Scandinavian Eddas.[9] These facts show, that one is not to disregard altogether the traditional statement of a writer like Zarthosht Behram Pazdu, simply because he was a comparatively much later writer.[10]

The Dabistan and the Desatir referring to the tradition of Changragâcha.

The Dabistan thus refers to the tradition of Changragâcha : "Zaratusht Behram, the son of Pazhdû, relates that, at the time of the promulgation of the pure faith in Iran, there lived in India a sage of profound learning, named Jangranghâchah,[11] whose pupil Jamasp had been during many years, a circumstance which procured him great distinction. On being informed of Gustasp's conversion, he wrote an epistle to the great king, to dissuade

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[1] *Vide* the S. B. E., Vol. XLVII.

[2] *Vide* F. Rosenberg's Livre de Zoroaster, l. 187. *Vide* p. 10 for the Persian text, p. 9, for the French translation.

[3] Bk. VIII., Chap. III, pp. 2 and 25. S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, pp. 35, 41.

[4] Chap. XIV, 12, *Ibid* p. 142.

[5] Shea and Troyer's Translation, 1843, Vol. I, p. 219.

[6] History of the early kings of Persia from the Persian of Mirkhond, translated by D. Shea, p. 286.

[7] The Natural History of Pliny, Book VII, Chap. 15. Bostock and Riley's translation (1855), Vol. II, p. 155.

[8] Scholion on the first Alcibides.

[9] *Vide* Jackson's Zoroaster, pp. 286-287.

[10] The tradition about Changragacha is referred to in the Dabistan and the Desatir. It appears doubtful, whether to include the writers among Parsee writers or Mahomedan writers. The name of a Mahomedan, Mohsan Fani, is connected with the Dabistan, but that seems to be more as a compiler or a collector or publisher than original writer. However these books are permeated with some later Parsee thoughts—with the thoughts of a particular sect of Parsees.

[11] Troyer thinks that it is a Persian corruption of Sankara Acharya.

him from the profession of the pure faith. By the king's command, this sage came to Iran to hold a disputation with Zardusht.....When he heard the solutions of his questions he..... adopted the pure faith."[1] The Desatir[2] also refers to this matter.

The Dabistan and the Desatir on the tradition of the Indian Biâs becoming a Zoroastrian.

Besides, Changraghâcha, there is another Indian sage, Biâs (Viâs) by name, who also is traditionally said to have been converted to Zoroastrianism. The Dabistan thus speaks of this sage: "When the report of Jangranghâcha's having adopted the faith was published abroad, a sage, by name, Byâsa,[3] came from India to Iran... .....Byasa listened to the words of God, and having made profession of the pure faith, returned to Hindustan".[4]

The Desatir thus speaks of the traditions of Changraghâcha and Bias: "Changragâch was a sage. He was known for his wisdom and intelligence.....When he heard about Zarthush Asphentaman, the prophet of God, he came to Iran to overthrow (Zoroaster's) good religion..... When Changragâch saw such marvels, he entered into the good religion and returning to the country of India, he remained firm in this auspicious religion.....They say when Bias, the Indian came to Balkh, Gustasp called Zarthosht.....When he heard the replies of all that he asked and understood all, he bowed before God, and entered into the good religion and returned to India."[5]

Of course, we must not attach to these later books an importance more than what they deserve. But their authority is useful so far as they record a tradition that is supported by what we read in older works of the spread of Zoroastrianism in India.

Mahomedan Persian writers on the tradition of the Ancient Iranians having come to India. Firdousi.

Coming to Mahomedan Persian writers, we have several, whose writings refer to the tradition of the ancient connection between Persia and India, and of the consequent influence of Persia over India. We will not refer to all, as our subject will then be very long. Firdousi's Shah-nameh stands in the front rank. There are numerous references in it to the subject of the connection between Persia and India. We will not enter into all, but simply say that he begins the connnection of India with Persia from the time of the Peshâddian Faridun. Faridun's

[1] The Dabistan, translated by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Vol. I., pp. 276-77.

[2] The Desatir with a Gujarati Translation by Mulla Kaikobad bin Muncherjee (1848), p. 248.

[3] Troyer thinks that this name is Indian Vyasa.

[4] The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 280-283.

[5] I give my translation from the text, given in the Desatir by Mulla Kaikobad bin Muncherjee (1848), pp. 247-48, and p. 280. *Vide* also for the text quoted, Dastur Peshotan B. Sanjana's Zarthosht-nameh, 2nd edition, (1902), pp. 87-88. *Vide* an edition of Desatir by Mr Hataria (1887), pp. 147 and 156.

mother Frânak, sent her infant child, Faridun, to Hindustan to save him from the murderous hands of Zohâk, who invaded and conquered Persia.

Abou-Fazal. The Âin-i-Akbari.

The Âin-i-Akbari gives the following account of the kings of Persia who had come to India : Hoshang, the founder of the Peshadadian dynasty, the author of the Jâvidân-i-Kherad (Eternal Wisdom), was the first Irânian monarch to come to India. [1] The second Iranian king, who visited India, was Jamshed. He is said to have gone to China from India *via* Bengal. The next king was Zohâk. Then came Kershâsp and then Asfandyâr. Nariman son of Kersasp, Sam son of Nariman, Zal son of Sam, Framroz son of Rustam, and Bahman son of Asfandyar, are also mentioned as having come to India, for conquest. It is said, that Kersasp was told by his astrologers, that his heirs' rule over Zaboulastan would be overthrown, and that his and his heirs' remains would be disinterred by somebody. So, to avoid this mishap he had ordered that his remains may be buried at Kanauj in India. This was done. His example was also followed in the case of Nariman, Sam and Rustam ; Bahman, after overrunning Zaboulastan and killing the members of the family of Rustam in revenge of the latter killing his father Asfandyâr, came to Kanauj in India to destroy the remains of the above Zabouli grandees, all of whom had a lot of treasure buried with them and had tablets on their tombs, beseeching the conqueror not to meddle with their remains. Bahman was so overcome with the rich gifts and the exhortations, that he did not disturb the remains. He abstained from his original intention of destroying the remains in revenge.

Ferishta.

Ferishta, who represents Krishna, as the first known Indian Raja, makes him a contemporary of King Tehmuras of Persia and says that there existed good relations between these Indian and Persian kings. [2] A nephew of this Maharaja Krishna had sought shelter with King Faridun. This Persian king sent his General Kersasp bin Atrud [3] to India and compelled the Maharaja to give a portion of his territories to his nephew. [4] After this time, Sam Nariman invaded Punjab at the direction of the

[1] Jarret's Translation, Vol. III, p. 325 *et seq.*

[2] "Paêvastê ba pâdshâhân-i-Irân tarikeh-i mohbat va dâd maslûk midâsht". (Naval Kishore's Lithograped Text of Tarikh-i-Ferishta, p. 10, l. 26).

[3] Kersasp Atrat of the Nam-grahan of the Afringân prayers of the Parsees. Briggs, in his translation of Ferishta's History represents Kersasp as the son of Faridun. That is a mistake. Ferishta does not say so. Briggs does not seem to have properly understood this name.

[4] Briggs gives the name of the nephew as Dongersen. I do not find that name in Naval Kishore's text. (Briggs Ferishta, I, Introduction).

Persian king. He was opposed by one Mahraj Mulchand, who at last sought peace. From this time forward, Punjab remained in the hands of the descendants of Faridun. It was governed by Kersap and by the members of his family, the ancestors of Rustam. It formed a part of the country of Kabul, Jabul,[1] Sind and Seistan, which was under the federal sway of Rustam's family. Kesurâi, the successor of Râjâ Mâhârâj, had asked the help of King Minocheher against some of his rebel kings. Minocheher sent Sam Nariman to his help. He met Kesurâe at Jallander [2] and helped him in subduing his tributary kings. Kesurai was succeeded by Firujrae. [3] He turned ungrateful to Iran. Taking advantage of its weakness during the times following the death of its great general Sam Narimân,[4] when Afrasiab invaded Iran, he rebelled against the suzerainty of Persia, and freed Punjab from its yoke. He took Jallander under his own sway [5] and then sending messengers to the Court of Afrasiab, offered his allegiance to him. Up to the time of King Kaikobad, Panjab remained independent under its Indian kings. Rustam then invaded India, and the Indian Raja, the successor of Firouzrâe fled to the mountains of Tirhoot. The Raja fled to the countries of Cheharkehand and Kundvareh and died there. Rustam placed one Suraj on the throne. It was in his time, that Hindus who hitherto reverenced the sun like the Persians, became idol worshippers at the instance of a Brahmin. Later on, Kedar Raja paid a tribute to Kaus and Kaikhusroo. Ferishta then traces the connection of Persia with India from the time of Ardeshir Babegan to that of Khushro Parviz.

The statement of Fireshta about the occasional conquests and rule of the Persian monarchs over India is supported by the tradition, heard on the frontiers in connection with the name of the fort of Jamrud in the Khyber Pass. I had the pleasure of going up to Ali Masjid in the Khyber in the spring of 1887, and on my way there, of seeing the fort of Jamrud.[6] While there, I heard the tradition, that the fort was connected with

The tradition about the rule or influence of the pre-Achæmenians on India, heard at Jamrud.

[1] Naval Keshore's Text of Ferishtas' History, p. 11, l. 6. Briggs' copy gives the name of "Tibet" instead of Jabul.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 11, l. 14.

[3] Briggs' Manuscript gives the name as Munirâe.

[4] Briggs attributes the weakness of the country to the death of Minochcher, but that seems to be a mistake, as it was in the time of Minocheher that Afrasiab had invaded Persia.

[5] "Jahahunder râ dar mumalik khud sâkht".

[6] In a short account of my travels in Northern India in 1887, given by me in the "Jam-e-Jamshed" of Bombay, I have given the traditional etymology of the name of Jamrud. Latterly, I gave it in a paper, read before "La Société Asiatique" of Paris and entitled "L'Etymologie populaire des noms des etapes entre Pichaver et Kabul" (Journal Asiatique, Huitiéme-sèrie, Tome, XIV (1889), p. 527.

the name of King Jamshed of the Peshdadian dynasty of Persia. The late Professor James Darmesteter, when he was in India, visited the place, when at Peshawar a short time before me, and he records as having heard the same tradition.[1]

XVIII.

The ancient Liechavis, a Persian people.

Professor Satis Chundra Vidyabhusana, in his interesting Paper, entitled "Persian affinities of the Liechavis,"[2] says: "That there was intercourse between Persia and Tibet in the ancient days, is evident from Kalidas's (Sanskrit) Raghuvamsa, Canto IV (verses 60—81), in which the foreign conquests of Raghu are described. Raghu, after describing the Pârsîka (Persians), Huna (Huns), and Kamboja (the inhabitants of the Hindukush mountains, which separate the Gilgit valley from Balkh), ascended the Himalayas .....This conquest of Raghu is perhaps a mere fiction, but it shows that in the days of Kâlidasa, about 500 A. D., the people of India were aware of a route existing between Persia and India on the one hand and Persia and Tibet on the other."[3] According to this Professor, some Tibetan books speak of the earliest kings of Tibet as belonging to the *Li-tsa-byi* race. This word Li-tsa-byi is "a modified form of Liechavi." "It is possible that during the occupation of Sogdiana,[4] and the neighbouring places by Alexander the Great, by the Bactrian Greek kings, and subsequently by the Scythians (the Yue-chi) about 150 B. C., some Persian people from Nisibis (off Herat)[5] imigrated to Tibet into the Himalayan regions, where they established a monarchical system of Government on the model of the Government in Persia."[6]

Mr. Vincent A. Smith says of this Liechavi tribe, that they are a Tibetan tribe, but Professor Sarat Chundra Vidyabhusana says that "they were a Persian tribe,' whose original home was Nisibis, which they left for India and Tibet in the 8th century B. C. and 4th century B. C. respectively".[7] This Nisibis is thought to be the Niçaya of the Vendidad,[8] the curse of which city was scepticism (*vimano*, Pahl *gomân*, Persian *gumân*). The Professor adds: "The earliest reference to the people of Nisibis in Indian writings occurs

[1] *Vide* his lettres sur l'Inde. Huitieme lettre. La Coupe de Djemchid, pp. 153-75.
[2] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, March 1908, pp. 78-80.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 80.
[4] The Sogda of the Avesta, Vendidad I, p. 5.
[5] The Haroyu of the Avesta, Vendidad I, p. 9.
[6] The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, March 1908, p. 79.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 78.
[8] Chap. I, p. 8.

in the famous Brahmanic Sanskrit work, the Manusamhitâ (Chap. X, verse 12), in which they have been designated Nicehibi, which is, no doubt an Indian form of the Persian word Nisibis.[1] Manu describes the Nicchibis as *Vrâtya-ksatriyas*, or an outcaste royal race, and names them along with Khasa, Karana and others. In the Bhavisya Purâna, Chapter 139, verses 33-65, Niksubhâ is described as a daughter of the sage Rijisvâ of the Gotra or Solar clan, and under the name of Hâvani as married to Surya, the Sun-God. I imagine that Niksubhâ represents the name of a Persian girl of Nisibis, who worshipped the Sun-God, like other members of her race. In the Indian Pali works, they have been called Liechavi or Liechivi,[2] which is only a softened form of Nicchibi or Nisibis, and have been mentioned as living in a large number in Vaisâli (in Magadha)."[3]

The learned Professor attributes to the presence of the ancient Persians, the following three facts in connection with Tibet:— (*a*) "The Bam-yik variety of the Tibetan alphabet" which, he thinks, derives its name from Bâmyân[4] (off Nisibis) which was visited by the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Thsiang in 630 A. D. (*b*) The custom of exposing the dead before flesh-eating animals. (*c*) The ancient Bon religion, supposed to have been originated from the Tajiks who were Persianized Arabs. The magical arts, exorcism, witchcraft, &c., of the Tibetans are said to have come to them from the Magi of Persia. "Sen-rah, who was one of the most prominent Bon teachers, had among his spiritual descendants a Persian sage, named Mu-tso-tra-he-si."[5]

It is very likely, that even in later Buddhistic times, Persia may have had some influence on Tibet. Mr. R. F. Johnston says on the subject: "Chinese Buddhism has drawn its doctrines from many sources and from many schools of religious and philosophic thought. India, Central Asia, Persia, and China itself have all contributed to the final result."[6] We know that the Haoma plant, referred to in the Avesta[7] had as its home, among other countries, the country of Western Tibet.[8]

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[1] The original Avesta form of the name is Niçaya.

[2] The letter 'N' of the word Niçaya (Nisibi) when written in Pahlavi, can be read as 'L.'

[3] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, p. 79.

[4] The Bamikân mountain of the Pahlavi Bundehesh, Chap. XX, p. 22.

[5] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXVII, March 1908, p. 80.

[6] "Buddhist China" by Reginald F. Johnston, p. 15.

[7] Yasna, Chaps. IX-XI.

[8] *Vide* my Paper on the "Haoma in the Avesta" Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 202-221. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, p. 230, n.

In connection with the question of an early connection or relations of Tibet with ancient Persia, there is one other story to be noted. Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, in his interesting article, entitled "Contributions on the Religion, History, etc., of Tibet,"[1] while speaking of the early history of Tibet (Chap. I), relates a story of Nah-thi-tempo, "the first of the Tibetan kings, who established universal sway over Tibet" that, "the parents packed it (the child) up in a copper vessel and floated it away on the river Gangâ. A farmer finding it, carried it to his wife, who nursed it." One can compare the story of this marvellous escape of the first King of Tibet with that of Cyrus, the founder of the Achæmenien dynasty of Persia, who, as a child, was exposed to death, but was saved.

When Persia is believed to have influenced the Buddhism of the further East, of Tibet, of China, it is possible it may have influenced the country of the nearer East, India.

Conclusion from the different evidences.

We thus see from a number of different evidences—the Avesta, the Cuneiform inscriptions of Persia, Herodotus, the Old Testament, Punch-marked coins of India, Pahlavi and Persian writers, the tradition as recorded in the Changragach-nameh, the tradition heard at the fort of Jamrud and the intercourse between Persia and Tibet—that the ancient Persians had a close connection with the Indians, not only in the Achæmenian times but long before. These evidences prepare us for the theory of Dr. Spooner, that the Mauryans may be Persians.

XIX.

III.—A FEW CONSTRUCTIVE OBSERVATIONS ON THE LITERARY PART OF DR. SPOONER'S PAPER.

The Mahabharata palaces.

The Mâhâbhârata[2] speaks of certain Indian palaces as "the palaces of the Dânavas". They are spoken of as being built by Asura Maya. Dr. Spooner says that (*a*) this reference is to the Mauryan palaces at Pâtaliputra, (*b*) that the Asura Maya is the same as Ahura Mazda of the Persians, (*c*) that the Dânavas of the Mahabharata were the Achæmenian kings of Persia, who, he says, spoke of themselves as Airayavo-Danghavo and (*d*) that the Mahabharata Dânava is the same as the Iranian or Achæmenian Danghavo (Airyavô Danghavô), thus taking the meaning of the word Danghavo to be a race or people. He takes all these matters to support his theory, that the Mahâbhârata

[1] Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. L, Part I (No. 3, 1881), p. 213.

[2] Mahâbhârata II, l. pp. 14-17.

refers to the Pâtaliputra buildings, and says, that they were built by Asura Maya (Ahûra Mazda) for the Dânavas (the Airyavô Danghavô) who were Iranians. Let us examine, how far Dr. Spooner's deductions or assumptions are correct, and, if all are not correct, which are correct. In the case of those that are not correct, let us see, whether they go against his theory or can be otherwise explained.

(a) The name Maurya dynasty.

In the first place, Dr. Spooner[1] lays aside as apocryphal and unsatisfactory, the Indian explanation of the derivation of the name Maurya from the name of a Sudra woman Murâ, supposed to be the mother of Chandragupta. He connects the name with Mount Meru of the Purânas, which, as said by him, the Encyclopædia Britannica seems to identify with Merv, the Mourva of the Vendidad. According to the first chapter of the Vendidad, it is one of the 16 places of the Irânian migration, where, one by one, Zoroastrianism flourished. In his theory of comparing the hundred-columned buildings of Chandragupta at Pâtaliputra with the hundred-columned building of Darius at Persepolis, Dr. Spooner tries to locate Merv, not at the modern Merv (Avesta Mouru), but at Persepolis itself where we find the name in Mervdasht or the plain of Murgab.[2] But looking to the fact, that, in the Vendidad, Mouru (Merv) is mentioned together with other places like Irânvez, Sogd (Sogdiana near Samarkand), Haroyu (Herat), Bâkhdhi (Balkh), &c., it is certain, that, at least the Mouru of the Vendidad is the Central Asian Merv and not the Merv of the Mervdasht or Murgab in the West. It is more probable, that the Hindus may have localised their Mount Merv in a nearer place like that of modern Merv in Central Asia, than a more distant place like the country of the Mervdasht or Mergab near Persepolis. It is certain, that the Vendidad Mouru or Merv is not the Persepolitan Merv, but the Central Asian one. It is true, that, as pointed out by Mr. Oldham who is quoted by Dr. Spooner, Merv "is merely an oasis" on the edge of a desert, remote from any mountains of importance ; but one must remember that the physical geography of Central Asia now is not what it was in those early times and the present boundaries of places and districts also are not the same. The country of modern Merv has now lost much of its former fertility. Considerations like those, suggested by Mr. Huttington's interesting book "Pulse of Central Asia," make us pause, before coming to any hasty conclusion on the ground of the present physical condition of places.

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[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of July 1915, p. 406.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 409.

Again, I think, that when Darius speaks of Margu (Merv) in his Behistun Inscriptions, he refers to the Merv far away from his capital than to any Merv near Persepolis. He speaks of it in one place (Behistun III, 3) thus: "There (is) a region Margus by name: it became rebellious to me; one man Frada, a Margianian, him they made chief; afterwards I sent forth Dadusis by name, a Persian, my subject, satrap in Bactria against him, &c."[1] Darius would not have spoken of it in this way, had he in his mind any Merv near his home and capital. He speaks of sending the satrap of Bactria, which was near Central-Asia Merv, to suppress the rebellion. This fact, and the style of the order, both show that Darius referred to the distant Merv and not to any place of that name near his capital. Spiegel, Rawlinson and Tolman all take the Inscription-Merv to be the Central-Asian-Merv.

I think that the names Merv-dasht and Murghâb, which we find applied to places near Persepolis, are more modern, not Achæmenian or old Iranian. It is possible, that, just as new settlers now-a-days give to their new settlements, the names of old countries, *e.g.*, New England, New York, &c., the later Iranians—whether conquerors or settlers—may have given the name of the old Central-Asian-Merv to their new country near Persepolis. But even if it is shown, that the names Mervdasht or Murghâb, which on their face seem to be later, are old, I think that the references to Mount Meru in the Indian books and to Mouru in the Avesta and to Margu (Merv) in the Behistun Inscriptions, are not to the Western Merv in Mervdasht but to the Central-Asian-Merv.

But all these considerations do not necessarily, in my view, vitiate the theory of Dr. Spooner, that the Mauryan palaces of Pâtaliputra had the Persepolitan palaces for their models, though one of his arguments to prove that theory does not seem to me to be correct.

(b) The equation of Asura Maya and Ahura Mazda.

The Mahâbhârata attributes some Indian structures, such as those that form the subject of Dr. Spooner's excavations, to the demon Asura Maya. Dr. Spooner thinks, that this Asura Maya of the Mahâbhârata is the Ahura Mazda of the Iranians. Just as Darius the Great attributed his exploits and his works to Ahura Mazda, the Mahâbhârata attributed such buildings to Asura Maya. He says: "The equation of Asura with Ahura needs no defence. That much is palpable enough. Nor does the equation of Maya with Mazda involve

[1] Tolman's Guide to the old Persian Inscriptions (1892), p. 128.

any serious difficulties."[1] Then, after explaining some phonetical changes, he further says : "This, then, justifies us in re-writing the form of Asura Maya as Ahura Maya, and the closeness of this to Ahura Mazda thus becomes apparent. Given Ahura Mazda in the mouths of imported masons, Asura Maya with a j sound, is what might normally have been expected as the indianized form of the name."[2] I think that Dr. Spooner's equation is quite possible. The final 'da' in Ahura Mazda is dropped, even by Parsees in their later books, wherein the name is found as Hormaz (هرمز). Some Persian dictionaries give the word as Hormaz. The name latterly began to be applied to places and to persons also in a contracted form. Take, for example, the name of the town of Hormuz or Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Here, the final 'd' is dropped. Again some Iranian kings had their names as Hormaz. In the modern Parsee name of Hormaz (ji) or Horma (ji), the final 'd' and even at times, the last but final 'z' is dropped.

I would suggest, that the Asura Maya of the Mahâbhârata may be a form of Asura Maha, *i.e.*, the great Asura, and that this form Asura Maha is the Indian form of Ahura Maza, *i.e.*, the "great Ahura," where "Ahura" is an equivalent of "Ahura Mazda". In the Avesta we often come across the single word Ahura for Ahura Mazda.[3] The word *maza* is the positive degree form of the superlative *mazishta*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *mahishta*, which is often applied[4] as an appellation to Ahura Mazda. The Avesta *maza* would be Sanskrit (महं) *maha*.

In connection with this name, Dr. Spooner says, that the imported Persian masons of Zoroastrian faith "made this name (Ahura Mazada) familiar to the Indian population in this connection specifically." I beg to give one modern instance of thus familiarizing Zoroastrian names among non-Zoroastrians. I remember, one morning about 3 or 4 years ago, passing through a field in one of my morning walks at Naosari, where I had gone for a short change. A Hindu field labourer in his conversation, more than once used the word Dádâr Hormuz for God. He had served under Parsee landlords and had thus taken up the name from them.

To meet the objection, which one may very likely raise, *viz.*, "How can Ahura Mazda be taken as an Architect"? Dr. Spooner says :

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of January 1915, p. 78.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 79.

[3] Mr. K. E. Kanga in his Avesta Dictionary says under the word Ahura, that it is, "the word for God in the Avesta ; either Ahura or Mazda or Ahura Mazda is used for the same," p. 72, col. 2.

[4] Ormazd Yasht, Yt. I. p. 19. Ashishang Yasht, Yt. XVII, p. 16.

"It is also true, of course, that in Persia itself Ahura Mazda, being the great Spirit and Creator, was not necessarily more closely connected with architecture than with other human undertakings. Presumably he was always invoked in every work man undertook, and all that mankind wrought at all was wrought by the Grace of Ormuzd." Dr. Spooner's assumption is right. A Parsee even now commences many an ordinary work, reciting the name of Ahura Mazda. His scriptures —the Ormazd Yasht,[1] —ask him to do so at all times, even when he takes his seat or when he leaves it, when he goes out of his house, out of his town or out of his country.

Again, one must bear in mind, that in the Avesta,[2] God is often spoken of as *tashan*, Sans. तक्षन, तक्षक, *i.e.*, the Maker, Architect, Creator. The modern Free-masons, who connect their craft with ancient masonry,[3] even now speak of God as the Great Architect.

(c) The Indian Dânavas and the Iranian Danghavô.

Dr. Spooner says : "The Mahâbhârata assigns the evidently Mauryan palaces to certain foreign kings called Dânava. The Mauryas originated from Persepolis and were perhaps of Achæmenian descent. The Achæmenian kings speak of themselves in their inscription as Airyavô Danghavô." Dr. Spooner takes this fact as significant, and, with some diffidence, takes the Dânavas to be the same as Danghavô, whose Sanskrit equivalent is Dasyavah. I think this identification is not correct. Dr. Spooner seems to have been misled by a statement in an article in the Encyclopædia Britannica where it is said that "the followers of the Zoroastrian religion in their earliest records never give themselves any other title but Airyavô Danghavô".[4]

The word *Danghu* in the Achæmenian inscriptions, occurs as *dahyaush* (Nom. singular). Both in the Avesta and in the Achæmenian Cuneiform, it is used in the sense of "a country, province or region." Its Avesta form is *dakhyu*. Its Pahlavi form is *dahyu*. The later or modern Persian is, ﺩﻩ *deh*. Never have these words been used in the sense of "people". Whenever they wanted to speak of the people, they used separate words for that. For example, in the Farvardin Yasht, we read "Airyanâm dakhyunâm narâm ashaonâm fravashayô yazamaidé"[5] *i.e.*, we invoke the spirits of the holy men (narâm नराम)

[1] Yt. I, p. 17, S.B. E., Vol. XXIII, p. 29.

[2] Yasna, XXIX. 2, *Vide* also Yasna, XXI, 9. XLVI, 9.

[3] *Vide* my Paper on "The Legendary and the Actual History of Freemasonry" in my book of Masonic Papers.

[4] 9th edition, Vol. XVIII, p. 653. Article on Persian language and literature.

[5] Yt XIII, p. 143.

of the countries of Airyana (Iran). Again, we have the word often [1] used in an ascending grade, as nmâna, viça, zantuma, and dakhyu, *i.e.*, the house, street, village and country. This grade also shows, that the word danghu (Avesta dakhyu) in the Achæmenian inscriptions means a country. It is never used in the sense of "people." The Sanskrit word, desh देश, a region, a country, corresponds to this word. Dastur Neryosangh, in his Sanskrit translation of the Avesta, always translated the word as desh (देश).[2] When King Darius says: "(I am) Darius, the great King, the King of Kings, King of Persia, King of the countries (khshayathiya Persaiy khshayathiya dahyunâm), he means to say, that not only is he the King of Persia, but also of all other countries besides Persia. He speaks of Persia as Parsaiy. We must remember that Persia has taken its name from the small region or country of Pars. He seems to mean therefore that he is not only the King of Pars (Persia proper), but also of all other countries attached to it or dependent upon it. It is something like the words in the British kings' Declaration, that they are kings of Great Britain and Ireland and also of the Colonies and Dependencies.

I have spoken at some length on this subject to show, that Dr. Spooner is not right in taking any help for his view from a supposed identification or equation of the word Dânava in the Mahâbhârata, where the Mauryan palaces are referred to, with the word Danghavô in the inscriptions of Darius. That identification must be given up. But Dr. Spooner's line of view in the matter of these words, may, I think, be otherwise upheld. The Achæmenian kings spoke of their countries other than that of Pars, as their "Dahyu," *i.e.*, "their countries". Thus, they applied the word "Dahyu" to their dominions in, and on the borders of India. The ancient Hindus often hearing the word 'dahyu' applied to the Iranian dominions on their frontiers, may have begun using the word for the occupants or the people of those dominions or countries. In this application, they may have used their Sanskrit equivalent 'Dasyu' in place of the Iranian Dahyu or 'Dakhyu'. We have instances of words, that are at first common nouns, being used gradually as proper nouns. For example, the Persian word Velâyet, which means one's own country, has, to some extent, come to be used for a proper noun. The first English settlers, when they went to England, very properly used 'Velayet' for their country of England. But latterly, the word has come to be used for England even by non-Englishman. It is not rare to hear now: "Such and such a person goes to Velâyet," thereby meaning England.

[1] Atash Nyâish Yasna LXII, 5, Aiwiçruthrem gâh, 7.

[2] Yasna XXXI, 18. *Vide* "The Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsees," by Ervad Sheriarli D. Bharucha. Part II (1910), p. 60, l. 3.

Thus, the ancient Hindus may have used the word 'dasyu,' their equivalent for the Achæmenian word 'dahyu,' at first as a proper noun for the Iranian territories on their borderland. Then, the next step may have been that of using the name of the country for the people of that country. We have an instance of such a kind. For example, when we say "England or France invades Germany" we mean the people, the Englishmen or the Frenchmen. Sir Walter Scott, in his Talisman, makes Richard, Cœur de Leon, say to the King of France, "Peace with thy remonstrance France." Thus, he uses the word 'France', the name of the country, for its king.

The Dânavas of the Mahâbhârata and the Dânus of the Avesta.

We saw above, that though Dr. Spooner's identification or equation of the Mahâbhârata Dânavas with the danghvô of the Achæmenian inscriptions is not correct, still his theory, based on a possible identification, may be otherwise supported. But, I think, it can be better supported by taking the Mahâbhârata Dânavas with the Avesta Dânus.[1] The accusative plural of the word is Dânavô.[2] It is spoken of in the Avesta as a Turanian tribe, opposed to the Iranians, but that does not necessarily imply that they were non-Zoroastrians.[3] Dr. Haug says: "The name Dânava is given, both in the Vedas and Zend Avesta, to enemies with whom wars are to be waged. Compare Yesht V, p. 73 and Atharvaveda IV, 24, 2."[4] The Vedic Dânavas were "descendents from Danu by the sage Kashyapa. They were giants who warred against the gods."[5] According to Dr. Spooner's theory, the Dânavas were taken in the Mahâbhârata to be a foreign nation. So, when we read in the Mahâbhârata, that the palaces (the Mauryan palaces as supposed by Dr. Spooner) were built by Asura Maya for the Dânavas, we may take it, that by the word Dânavas here, were meant the Iranians who were disliked by the Indians and who were held to be foreigners or hostile to them.

From the Avesta point of view, it may be said: "How can the Dânavas be Iranians, because according to the Avesta, the Dânavas were the people who were hostile to the Avesta people—to the Iranians themselves. They were enemies common to India and Iran." This consideration does present a difficulty at first. But it seems, that the Dânavas, having come at first from the West for their inroads in

[1] Yasht. V, 73; Yasht XIII, 37-38, S. B. E., Vol. XXIII, pp. 71 and 189.
[2] Yasht V., 73.
[3] *Vide* the word Dânu, in my Gujarati Dictionary of Avesta Proper Names, p. 111.
[4] Haug's "Essays on the Parsees," 2nd edition, p. 279.
[5] Dowson's Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, &c. (1879), p. 80. The word Danavas.

India, their name may have latterly lost its signification as a proper name for a particular people and began to be applied to the Irânians also, who also came from the West as a conquering or hostile nation. We have other instances of words thus assuming broader significations. For example, take the word "Guebre." The Mahomedans first applied it to the Persians as an equivalent of fire-worshippers. Then, in India, they began to apply it to the Hindus also, in the ordinary common sense of *kafars* or disbelievers. Again, take the word *Firangi*, as used in India. At first, it was applied to the first Westerners, the Portuguese. Then, it began to be applied to all Europeans who came from the West. Again, we must bear in mind, that, though the Avesta uses the word for a hostile tribe, yet it does not follow that all the Dânus or Dânavas were non-Zoroastrians. Again the Dânus are referred to only twice in the Avesta, in the Aban Yasht,[1] and in the Farvardin Yasht.[2] In both the places, they are spoken of as the Turanian Dânus (Dânavô Tura). These words show, that there may be Iranian Dânavas also as opposed to Turanian Dânavas.

Ishtar, the Persian Anâhita and the Indian Venus.

In his attempt to prove the equation of Ahura Mazda and Asura Maya, Dr. Spooner says as follows :—"Is not the great Ishtar, perhaps the most popular divinity among the Persians, peculiarly associated with these very Asuras or Dânavas? Witness the compounds *asuraguru* 'teacher of the Asuras' and Dânavapûjita 'worshipped by the Dânavas', both of which are Sanskrit names for Venus, well-attested".[3] This statement of Dr. Spooner suggests several thoughts from the Iranian or Zoroastrian point of view.

"The Great Ishtar,[4] perhaps, the most popular divinity among the Persians" which, according to Dr. Spooner, is associated with the Asuras and Dânavas, is the Ardviçura Anâhita of the Avesta, the Aphrodite (Venus) of the Greeks. It is the word 'Anâhita,' that has produced the later Persian word 'Nâhid' for Venus. This Ardviçura Anâhita is much associated with Ahura Mazda, who has created her for the welfare of the house, the street, the town, the country. Ardviçura Anahita is also the name of a great Iranian river. I identify this river Ardviçura with the great Oxus. The name Oxus seems to have come from Aksu, a great branch of the Oxus, and I think that this name Aksu can be properly derived from Ardviçura.[5]

[1] Yasht V, 73.

[2] Yasht, XIII, 37-38.

[3] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, January 1915, p. 81.

[4] For this Babylonian name, *vide* Rawlinson's article "Ishtar called Nuna at Babylon." Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, pp. 634-6. Appendix to Book I.

[5] *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society" (1905), pp. 26–27.

It is in the description of this river Ardviçura Anâhita,[1] that we find an account of what an Iranian palace on the bank of a river was. It was a palace with 100 well-formed windows, 1,000 lofty columns and 10,000 well-built fine pillars.[2] The districts of Wakhar, Sharikul and Kanjut are situated on the banks of the Oxus. According to Wood[3] and Gordon,[4] remnants of Zoroaster's creed were seen there till about 500 to 700 years ago. It is also in an account of the Ardviçura Anahita, that we find a reference to the Iranian Dânus or Dânavas. There, the worshippers pray and implore Anâhita to subdue some leaders of the Turanian Dânus (Dânavô Tura-Vyâkhna)[5]. In the Farvardin Yasht also, the worshippers pray to overcome the Turanian Dânus (Dânunâm Turanâm) [6].

The Dânus give names to several geographical places.

Mr. E. W. Gosse, in his article on Denmark in the Encyclopædia Britannica,[7] says: "The original form of the word Denmark is Dan mörk, the march[8] or border of the Danir; but whence the name Danir or Danes, proceeded, is undecided and has given rise to endless Antiquarian discussion." I think, it is this Avestaic name Dânu, the Vedic Dânava, that has given its name, not only to the country, Denmark, and to the people, the Danes, but also to the rivers Danube, Dneiper, Dneister, Don, &c. Denmark is "the country of the Dânus (Dânes)". Danube is "the river (Avesta âp., Sanskrit अप्, Lat-aqua, Perian âb, *i.e.*, water) of the Dânus.

It is significant to note that the name of the river Danube in the lower part of its course is Istar, which is the classical name of a goddess who is the same as the Irânian Anâhita, later Persian Nâhid (Venus). It is also significant to note that the word Dânu in the Avesta also means a river (*e.g.*, Danu-Drâjangha,[9] *i.e.*, as long as a river).

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[1] Aban Yasht, Yt. V. 101, S. B. E. Vol. XXIII, p. 77.

[2] Darmesteter translates the word fraskemb as "balconies."

[3] Wood's journey to the source of the river Oxus, 1st edition, p. 333. Wood speaks of three Kaffer forts there, which according to the natives there, were erected by the Guebres or fire-worshippers.

[4] Speaking of the country of Shignan and of the time between 500 and 700 years ago, Gordon says: "The country was at that time in the hands of the Zardushtis (ancient Guebres fire-worshippers), a powerful and learned race." (The Roof of the World by Col. Gordon, (1876), p. 141).

[5] Yasht V, 73.

[6] Yasht XIII, 37-38.

[7] 9th edition, Vol. VII, p. 84.

[8] The word "march" is the same as Persian مرز *marz*, country. The English word Marquis is similar to the Persian word, Marzbân.

[9] Yasna LX, 4; Yt XIII (Farvardin), 32.

(d) Silence of the Hindu books about the Mauryas. Râjatarangini's nameless and fameless kings.

Hindu books speak very rarely and very little of the Maurya kings. Some say, that the silence was due to the fact that they were Buddhists, and so, they were not liked by the Brahmin writers of books. If so, why is Chandragupta not mentioned. "Chandragupta certainly was not a Buddhist, and as the first great Indian Emperor, we should not have been surprised to find him deified and in course of time identified with Vishnu or with Shiva". Dr. Spooner assigns the oblivion of his and his family's name to the fact, that he was a Persian, a Zoroastrian, and as such, was not liked by the Hindus. In connection with this matter, he refers to the Râjatarangini of Kashmir, where the "fifty-two nameless and fameless kings of early days" are ignored as those "whose praises no poet could be hired to sing. . . . . The Great Asoka seems to be among these infamous monarchs." Dr. Spooner thinks that those early monarchs were not found praiseworthy, because they were foreigners, they were Irânians, they were Zoroastrians.

The Râjatarangini[1] refers to a King Mihir Cula, as a wicked monarch, in whose reign, the Mlech'has had an ascendancy[2]. He founded the temple of Mihireshwara and the city of Mihirapur in which "the Gandhâra Brahmans, a low race. . . . . were permitted to seize upon the endowments of the more respectable orders of the priesthood"[3]. These Gandhâra Brahmans (गान्धारा बाह्मण) of the Malechha dynasty (मलेच्छवंश) seem to be a class of priests of the Zoroastrian faith. The Gandhâras, referred to by the Râjatarangini, were the Gandârins referred to by Herodotus[4] as a people of one of the satrapies of Darius Hystaspes. They were the same as the Sogdians who "had the Bactrian equipment in all respects",[5] and formed a part of the army of Xerxes. That they were a class of Zoroastrian priests from the West, appears from several facts.

1. Firstly Kalhana, the author of the Râjatarangini, gives a heresay about them (ainsi dirent quelque uns),[6] that these Gandhâra Brahmins had the next-of-kin marriages among them. This is an

[1] Book I, Shlokas 306 *et seq*. Troyer's French Translation of 1840, Vol. I, p. 33, *et seq*.

[2] *Vide* my Paper "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians" Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX, pp. 242-44. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers" (Part I), pp. 103-5.

[3] Wilson's Essay on the "Hindu History of Kashmere" in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, (pp. 1-119) p. 23.

[4] Herodotus *Ibid*, Book III, 91.

[5] *Ibid* Book VII, 66.

[6] Shloka 308, Troyer's French Translation.

allusion to the so-called custom of the next-of-kin marriage among some ancient Persians,[1] a custom supposed to have been connected with the matriarchal custom which may be tribal with some Magi[2]. (2) Secondly, the Râjatarangini speaks of a number of flesh-devouring birds following the army of the foreign king.[3] This, I think, is an allusion to the Parsee mode of the disposal of the dead wherein the bodies are eaten by birds.

As it is, the Râjatarangini's reference to the Iranian Brahmans, (Mobads) encroaching upon the domain of the Indian Brahmans, is about times later than that of the Mauryas. But one cannot depend upon the chronology of Kalhana. He may have transferred to later times, an event which actually may have occurred much earlier. He connected the event with a known King, Mihiracula, of later times. This Mihiracula is supposed to be the Hunnic king referred to in Indian History[4] and in the book of travels of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang[5]. The Chinese pilgrim[6] speaks of him as having lived "some centuries ago." This confirms my above statement that one cannot depend upon the chronology of Kalhana's Râjataringini, whose Mihirakula is identified with the Mihiracula of the Indian history and of the Chinese traveller. However, whoever the Mihiracula may be, he may be an Iranian, and he may be a Mazdayacnân. Even if we take him as a Hunnic king, in spite of being one of the Huns, he may be a Zoroastrian by faith. When we say, that he may be a Zoroastrian, we do not necessarily mean that, such as he is represented to be, he was a true and good Zoroastrian in his character. But, anyhow, he may be said to have belonged to the fold of Zoroastrianism. We have the authority of the Avesta[7] to say, that some of the Hunnic leaders who fought against the Iranians, observed well nigh the same forms of ritual and worship.

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[1] The Shloaka, referring to this custom, is omitted by Dr. Stein from his Text, but is found in Troyer's text, p. 38. Dr. Stein refers to this omission in the foot-note. As to Mihiracula, Dr. Stein also thinks that the name is Iranian.

[2] For this custom, *vide* a Paper on "Royal Marriages and Matrilineal descent" by Miss Margaret Murray (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of England, July-December, 1915.)

[3] Shloaka, p. 291.

[4] Mr. Vincent Smith's History of India, 2nd edition (1914), pp. 316-319.

[5] Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist records of the Western World, Bk IV, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629) by Samuel Beal, Vol. I. p. 167.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 168.

[7] Aban Yasht.

When Chandragupta defeated the last king of the Nanda dynasty and drove him away from his dominions, the Nanda king is said to have sought the help of six Rajas or kings. Five of these were Hindu Rajas and the sixth is said to be "the great King of the Malechhas or Parasikas (Parsis)."[1] This shows that some Parsee Kings had a Kingdom in the close neighbourhood of India. Lassen [2] thought, that this Parsee King was Seleucus, the successor of Alexander the Great, who was then reigning over Persia. As he ruled over Persia, the country of the Parsees, he came to be known as a king of the Parsees, though himself a Greek. Even if we agree with Lassen and say, that by "the king of the Parasikas or Parsees" Seleucus, the Greek was meant, the fact is very significant. It shows, that the Parsee conquerors of the Achæmenian times, who had preceded Alexander and his Greeks in the conquest of India, had made such a strong impression upon the mind of the Hindus and had so strongly influenced them, that they knew a later Greek ruler of their Persian country as a Parsee.[3]

(e) A King of the Parasikas or the Parsees in the neighbourhood, in the time of Chandragupta.

But, I have my doubts about Lassen's interpretation, that by the "King of the Parsees" Seleucus was meant, as he occupied the throne of the country of the Parsees. If that interpretation is correct, why was not Alexander the Great himself, a greater conqueror and ruler than Seleucus, who first conquered and ruled Persia, spoken of as "the king of the Parasikas or Parsees?" I think some real Parsee sovereign or ruler in the neighbourhood was meant. He must have influenced the Hindu people, and so it was, that his help was sought by the Nanda King.

Dr. Spooner supposes, that Chanakya, the Minister of Chandragupta, also was a Persian, an Âtharvan himself. Among the Vedas, the Âtharva Veda is given a lower place by old Hindu writers and their followers. Why so? It was so, because, therein, you find much foreign non-Hindu element and influence. "There were in early India, Kings of Persian race who brought their own priests with them." We saw above, that Mihiracula was one of such kings. The rites and ceremonies of these foreign priests are preserved in this Atharva-veda. For

(f) Chânakya, supposed by Dr. Spooner to be a Persian. A few thoughts suggested by this fact.

[1] Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. III, No. XIV, p. 154.

[2] Lassen was the well-known author of "Die alt-persischen Keilenschuften von Persepolis" (1836) and the editor of the first five chapters of the Vendidad (1852).

[3] *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society," p. 143.

this reason, the Atharva-veda was held in lower estimation. The Atharvans, the foreign priests also were held in lower estimation. Châṇakya, who was a foreign Atharvan priest in the Court of Chandragupta, himself held to be a foreigner, was also therefore not held in high estimation by old Hindu writers. Chanakya, however, was held in estimation by his monarch and he thus founded the tradition of their being held in some esteem. "This tradition would soon establish itself, and soon no king however purely Hindu in his race, would dare dispose the Atharvan from his rank." [1]

The Atharva-veda, though it had a foreign Persian origin, "is a mixture or a blend of imported Magian doctrines, with those other similar and harmonious beliefs which the Magians found among the Hindus of their time." There may have been a certain jealousy and friction between the rival schools at first, but as the Magi grew acclimatized, community of interests will have fused the two[2].

Now "the name of the Atharva-veda is a two-fold one—Atharvângirasas we find it called. Both elements in this compound name, it will be recognized, are equally good Persian".[3] According to the Vishnu-purana, "Angirasa is one of the vedas in Shâka-divipa, *i.e.*, it is a Persian scripture. The warrior-caste in Shâka-divipa, curiously enough, are known as Mâgatha. The Brahmins are called Magas, and the Kshatriyas Mâgadhas . . . . . In the Atharva-veda itself, in a passage suggestive of that early friction . . . . . the Mâgadhas are spoken of contemptuously." In another place Magadha is spoken of as "inhabited mostly by foreigners."

In connection with this question of friction between the Indian Âtharvans and the Iranian Âthravans, a passage in the Yaçna (Chap. IX, Haoma Yasht, 24) is very significant. Therein, we read of hostility between a foreigner, one Keresâni, and an Iranian, Haoma. As to the foreigner, Keresâni, Dr. Mills compares him with "the Vedic Krishânu archer and demi-god, who guarded the Soma." (S. B. E. XXXI, p. 237, n. 4). As to the Iranian, Haoma, we know from the Avesta that he was a priest and was associated with the Haoma-drink. Keresani is represented as having been overthrown by Haoma. Thereupon, he (Keresani) prayed: "May no Âthravan teacher move about in my country for spreading (his faith) (nôit me apâm âthrava aiwishtish vêrêdhyê danghavê charât)." Taking the above two proper names as typical or as representatives of their class, what we find is this:

[1] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, July 1915, p. 421.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 421-22.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 421 (*vide* Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd ed., p. 294, for the same view).

Here we have a clear reference to some friction or hostility between two classes of priests. The Indian priests wish, that there may be no more of missionary work in their country by the Iranian Âthravans.

The meaning attached to the word 'Keresani' by some later Pahlavi translators and commentators is significant. They took the word to be a common noun in the sense of Kilisyaka, *i.e.*, Christians, which is an instance of anachronism. But the fact seems to be this: The antagonism between the Indian priests and the Iranian priests was so marked, that the word Keresani came to be latterly used for all "enemies of Zoroastrian religion," and even for all enemies in general. During the times of the Pahlavi writers, there had arisen hostility, both political and religious, between the Christians of the Eastern Roman Empire and the Zoroastrians of Persia. The word used for Christians was Kilisyaka which is a corrupted form of "ecclesiastus." So, latterly, the Pahlavi commentators, forgetting the old schism and friction with the Indian opponents, the Indian Athravans, took the word for the later Christian opponents. The word Kilisyâk itself seems to have undergone a similar change and exchange of idea. So, we find some later writers speak of Alexander the Great as a Kilisyâk. As the Christians were coming from the West, they, by anachronism, took Alexander, who also had come from the West, to have been Christian. Or, more probably, they began using the word Kilisyâk also in the sense of "religious opponents", and so, applied the word to Alexander who had given a great blow to their country and religion and of whom they often spoke as the gazashta, *i.e.*, the accursed.

(g) References in the Bhavishaya Purana to Zoroastrians.

After a long statement of his views on the subject of the Âthravaveda, suggested by the Âthravan minister of Chandragupta, Dr. Spooner refers to a passage in the Bhavishaya-purâna, referred to by Wilson in his Vishnu-purâna. Wilson says: "There is some curious matter in the last chapter relating to the Magas, silent worshippers of the Sun from Sâka-dvipa, as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term *Mugh* and connected the fire-worshippers of Iran with those of India".[1] I will refer here to a few points mentioned in the Bhavishaya-purana, which are also referred to in Iranian books :—

1. "The tradition . . . . which records the introduction of the worship of the Sun into the North-West of Hindustan by Samba, the son of Krishna."

[1] *Ibid*, p. 423.

2. "This prince having become a leper . . . . . resolved to retire into the forest and apply himself to the adoration of the Surya . . . . . Samba . . . . . retired to the celebrated grave of Mitra (Mithra), where by fasting, penance and prayer, he acquired the favour of Surya and was cleaned of his leprosy."

3. "Gauramukha (white face), the Purohita of Ugrasena, king of Mathura, advises that the Magas may be sent for, to officiate at the temple founded by Sâmba as a mark of gratitude, in honour of Surya whose worship cured him of leprosy. Samba himself went on the bird Garuda to Saka-dvipa and brought 18 families of Magas to India. Wilson says at the end: 'There are other particulars mentioned, which are of a more explicit tenour . . . . . Enough may be extracted (from the Bhavisha-purâna) to establish the identity of the Magas of the Purana with the followers of Zoroasters.'"[1]

1-2 Introduction of Sun-worship into India and its connection with leprosy.

(*a*) According to the Bhavishya Purâna, it was Samba, the son of Krishna, who introduced Sun-worship into the North-West of India. Fireshta, the well-known Mahomedan historian of India, says, that Sun worshippers entered into India from Persia, in the time of Mahârâj, the son of Krishna.[2] So, both say, that Sun worship came to India in the reign of the son of Krishna. According to Fireshta, idol-worship came into operation, later on, in the reign of a King named Suraj.

(*b*) The Bhavishya-purâna connects leprosy with Sun-worship, and says, that that worship, carried out in the grove of Mithra, cured the disease. Compare with this what Herodotus says of this connection. He says: "If a Persian has the leprosy, he is not allowed to enter into a city, or to have any dealings with the other Persians; he must, they say, have sinned against the Sun. Foreigners attacked by this disorder, are forced to leave the country."[3] According to Ctesius, Megabyzus, a Persian general, escaped being arrested, by pretending that he was a leper. The Persians were so afraid of the disease that they let him run away rather than arrest him. Leprosy was one of the diseases of which the ancient Persians were most afraid. King Yima (Jamshed) prays for its extinction in his *vara* or enclosure.[4] The Âbân Yasht enjoins that consecrated food shall not be given to persons suffering from leprosy.[5] The Bhavishya-purâna refers to the

[1] *Ibid*, p. 425.
[2] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. LXIV.
[3] Herodotus, Book I, p. 139. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 278.
[4] The Vendidad, Chapter II, p. 29.
[5] Yasht V, p. 92.

Sun being worshipped in the grove of Mithra for the cure of leprosy. We have no direct reference to Mithra in connection with leprosy in the Avesta, but in the Meher Yasht, the Yasht in honour of Mithra, we find a reference to all virulent diseases, suggesting that the worship of Mithra may alleviate these. Leprosy may be one of such diseases.

3 Gauramukha, the Purohita.

The word Gauramukha (white face), as the name of the Purohita, who advised that the Magas may be sent for to officiate at the temple in honour of the Sun, seems to me to be significant. This name, which Dr. Spooner thinks to be obviously Magian, reminds us of the word "gaura" गौरा occurring more than once in the 16 Sanskrit Shlokas, said to have been composed by the early Parsee settlers who landed at Sanjan. The line which runs more than once in the Shlokas is गौराधीराः सुवीराः बहुबल निचयास्तेवयं पारसीकाः Here the Parsees speak of themselves as the "white faced."

(*h*) A few particulars given by Wilson to establish the identity of the Magas of the Puranas with Zoroastrians.

Dr. Spooner gives a number of particulars, which, according to Wilson, go to establish the identity of the Magas of the Puranas with Zoroastrians. They are the following :—

1. The wearing of the *Kurcha*.
2. The Maga custom of eating in silence.
3. Their being called Vachârcha, *i.e.*, Sun-worshippers.
4. Their having four vedas, including the Angirasa.
5. The use of the Avyânga or Parsi girdle.
6. Their use of the Varsma or Varsama.
7. The prohibition of touching the dead.
8. The prohibition of casting a dead dog on the ground.
9. The necessity of worshipping the Sun just before death.
10. A Maga (*a*) "should let his beard grow (*b*) should travel on foot, (*c*) cover his face in worshipping and (*d*) hold what is called purṇaka in the right hand and the Shankha (conch-shell?) in the left; (*e*) and he should worship the Sun at the three Sandhyas and the five festivals."

These particulars, says Wilson, "are more than enough to establish the fact that the Bhavishya purâna intends by Magas, the Mughs of the Persians, the Magi of the Greeks and the Parsees of India." Let

us examine their similarity in details. (*a*) The Kurcha (No. 1) may be something like the Sudrah or sacred shirt of the Parsees. (*b*) The Avyânga (5) is the Avesta aiwayâonghana, the modern Kusti. (*c*) The Varsama (6) is the Avesta Baresmana. The ancient Persians used it ceremoniously while saying their grace at meals. Its use at a banquet given in honour of Nyatus, a Christian ambassador from the Roman Emperor Maurice at the Court of Khusro Parviz (Chossors II) led to a quarrel between the Roman ambassador and a Persian magnate Banduy. (*d*) The two prohibitions (7) and (8) are referred to in the Vendidad.[1] (*e*) The Persians have special prayers in honour of the Sun which they are required to say three times a day. The three details Nos. 3, 4 and 9 are not sufficiently clear. We do not clearly see what similarity Wilson sees in them. (*f*) The four Vedas (4) may refer to the Nyâyashes, Yashts, the Yaçna and the Vendidad.

A part of No. 10 is not clear. (*a*) The custom of letting the beard grow is still prevalent among the Parsee priests.[2] (*b*) The injunction of travelling on foot implies the prohibition of a long sea or river voyage. Tacitus refers to this old custom as observed by Tiridates, the King of Armenia, who was a vassal of the Roman Emperor Nero.[3] Even now, Parsee priests, who perform the inner liturgical services, are prohibited to go on a long sea voyage. Even while travelling on land with ceremonial religious requisites used in ritual, they have to observe certain observances. To observe this, they prefer walking to going in carriages. (*c*) The reference to covering the face in worshipping is a reference to the use of *paitidâna* of *padân*. The Flamines, the ancient Roman fire-priests, also had a similar custom.

The custom of holding silence at meals.

According to Maçoudi, the custom (No. 2) of holding silence at meals among the Iranians, is very old. It arose during the reign of Kaiomars. Kaiomars advised, that the object of taking food was to nourish the body. If a man, at the time of meals, talks and thinks, all the parts of the body are not well-nourished and digestion is impeded. The process of thought takes away something which ought to go for the process of digestion.[4]

Maçoudi thus describes the origin of the custom: "On rapporte que Keyomert fut le premier qui prescrivit le silence pendant le repas. La nature, disait-il. reçoit ainsi la part qui lui est due. Le

[1] Vandidad III, V, &c.

[2] *Vide* my Presidential Address before the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Journal, Volume X, No. 5, pp. 343-44 and n. 1.

[3] *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society."

[4] Maçoudi, traduit par B. De Meynard, Vol. II, p. 108.

corps profite des aliments qu'il prend. Les esprits vitaux retrouvent alors le calme; chaque membre est apte à concourir, par l'absorption des sucs alimentaires, au bien-être et á la santé du corps; le foie et tous les organes de l'appareil digestif reçoivent leur nourriture, et toutes les fonctions de la vie sont régulières. Au contraire, si l'homme, quand il mange, est distrait par une préoccupation quelconque, la digestion se trouble, les aliments sont inégalement répartis, et il en résulte un mélange et un trouble trés-préjudicibles aux esprits vitaux et á la santé. A la longue, ce désordre doit amener une scission entre la faculté pensante et raisonnable et le corps humain; la pensée l'abandone et il devient incapable de se conduire avec discernement."[1]

(*i*) The bird Garud and Avesta Garo-nmana.

Garuda was one of the vehicles by which the Magi entered India. Dr. Spooner says, he was impressed "with the striking iconographical resemblance between the sculptured images of Garuda in India, and the customary figure of Ahura Mazda in ancient Persian art". He sees some relation between the Garud and the Garô-nmâna, the abode of Ahura Mazda in the Avesta.

One cannot very properly connect this word Garud with the Avesta Garô-nmâna, because one has to take the Avesta 'n' for the Indian 'd'. But in the Gathas, the older writings, we find 'd'. There the word for Garô-nmâna is Garo-demâna (Yaçna XLV, 8, L, 4; LI 15) (*Vide* Le Zend Avesta par Darmesteter Tome I, p. 251, n. 6, pp. 298, 336). So, from Dr. Spooner's point of view, the word Garô-demâna would be better than Garô-nmâna for the sake of comparison.

But, I think, that this comparison of a Garud (a bird) with Garô-demâna (paradise) appears rather far-fetched. I think, that instead of comparing the *words*, one may better compare the *ideas*. Garuda (a bird; hence the idea of a fast-going vehicle) was meant for a fast journey. The Avesta (Farvardin Yasht, Yt. XIII, 71), while describing the coming of the Fravashis (or the Farohars, the guiding spirits) from the other world to this world, speaks of their coming in the form of a bird (mânayen yatha nâ meregho hupareno, *i.e.*, like a person in the form of a good-winged bird). This signifies a quick flight. No sooner the spirit is invoked, it responds and is there. The figure of Ahura Mazda (I think it is rather that of the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, not of Ahura Mazda himself) is represented as a winged-bird. The Fravashi or Farohar comes down from Garô-nmâna as a bird. That idea seems to have been taken from the above notion of the Farvardin

[1] Maçoudi Vol. II, pp. 108-109.

Yasht, that the Divine or Heavenly beings come quick, as it were, in the form of birds. So, I think, it would be better to compare the idea of flight or a quick march on the back of the bird Garud in the Puranas, with the idea of flight of Heavenly beings from the Garô-demâna in the Avesta. We may note, that in the Parsee scriptures, the Garô-demâna or Garô-nmâna is the seat not only of Ahura Mazda, but also of his Ameshâspands or Archangels and of the Fravashis or Good Holy Spirits. According to the Vendidad also (Chapter II, 42), there is a bird Karshipt which is allegorically represented as teaching religion in the country of Yima.

Orissa, Bengal, etc., as a centre of the Iranians.

Dr. Spooner's reference to Oriya, Bengali and Assamese as languages, and to Orissa as a centre of Iranians, etc., reminds us of the introduction of the Târikh-i-Ferishta, (*vide* Briggs' translation of the Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Vol. I, p. LXIV, *et seq.*). According to Mahomedan authors, as said above, the ancient Iranians were connected with India from very ancient times even Achæmenian times. They had more than once extended their conquest even up to Bengal (*vide* my "Glimpse," etc., p. 145, for a short summary of what Ferishta says).

(*j*) A few further notes.

I will conclude my Paper with some few short notes on some further observations of Dr. Spooner.

(*a*) Yavana Bhagadatta.

Dr. Spooner agrees with Goldstücker, who said that the word 'Yavana' as used by Panini, meant "the writings of the Persians, and probably the cuneiform writings." Thus, we find that the word Yavana was used for the Parsees. Dr. Spooner thinks that the name Bhagadatta was a Persian name. The Sanskrit Bhaga was an equivalent of Avesta Baga, God. We learn from Herodotus, that there were several Persian names which were derived from Bhaga or Baga. For example the following: Bagæus, Bagapates, Bagasaces, Bagoas and Bagaphanes.[1]

(*b*) Sâka-dwipa, the Home of the Zoroastrian Magi.

The Sâka-dwipa of the Indians is the Sekastan, Sagastan, Sagistan or Siestan of the Persians. The Sanskrit द्विप dwipa, corresponds to the Avesta *Stâna*, Sans. स्थान, *i.e.*, place. Sakastan is the place of the Sakas. The same letter in Pahlavi can be read k, g, j and i. Hence, the different forms of the name. We have a treatise in Pahlavi, named "Afdih va Sahigih-i Seistan", *i.e.*,

[1] *Vide* Rawlinson's Note on "Proper names of Medes and Persians, Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 553."

"The Wonders and Mavels of Seistan" [1], which shows, that Seistan was a seat of Zoroastrianism in early times and that the early teachings of Zoroaster were associated with it. Rustam, the national hero of Persia, was ruling here as a vassal of the Shâh of Iran. So, he was a Saki. His enemies, playing, as it were, a pun upon the word, taunted him as Sagi, *i.e.*, a dog.

Dr. Spooner quotes the Mahabharata to say, that in Sâka-dwipa, there is no king.[2] From what we learn in the Avesta, about the city where lived Zarathushtra as the spiritual head of the community, we find, that there also, there was no separate ruler. Zoroaster himself was the temporal as well as the spiritual leader or head. In the Yaçna,[3] they refer to the city of Ragha (Rae) which is associated with the early life of Zoroaster. It is said there, that for the administration of a city, there are five heads or rulers : 1. The house-owner, who is the head or ruler of his own house (nmâna), 2. The head of the street (viç), 3. The head of the village (Zantu), 4. The head of the city or country (danghu), and 5. Zarathushtratemo (the spiritual head). But, in the city, where Zarathushtra himself lives, there are only four heads, because, Zoroaster being on the spot, he is both the temporal head and the spiritual head.

But, if we look to the above statement of the Mahâbhârata, from another point of view, *viz.*, a reference to a Republican form of Government, then the statement about the 16th place mentioned in the Vendidad is significant. That country is not specifically named but is mentioned after India, and it is said of it, that it is a place where people "live without a head or ruler" (Asârô aiwyâkhshayênti).[4] Bearing in mind, that Sakastân or Seistan is the country which is chiefly associated with the work and teaching of Zoroaster in the above Pahlavi treatise, one can apply this reference of the Vendidad to that country. The river Rangha, referred to in connection with this matter in the Vendidad, is identified by Dr. Geiger with Rasho of the Vedas and by Windischman with the Indus.

[1] *Vide* for its translation my "Aiyâdgâr-i Zarirân," &c.
[2] Journal R. A. Society, July 1915, p. 438.
[3] Yaçna XIX, p. 18.
[4] Vendidad I, 20.

A Note of Correction for the Paper "A Persian Inscription of the Mogul times" (Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Volume XXIV, No. 1, pp. 137-161.)

(*Read on 30th March* 1916.)

I had the pleasure of reading a Paper before this Society, on 18th March 1915, under the title of "A Persian Inscription of the Mogul times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana." I had sent a copy of it to Mr. H. Beveridge, I C.S. (Retired), a well-known writer on the subject of Mogul History. In his letter, dated 1st December 1915, acknowledging the receipt of that Paper, he writes that "the inscription is a valuable one," and kindly draws my attention to a mis-reading of the inscription and to a consequent mistake in my translation. I thank Mr. Beveridge for this, and take this early opportunity for correction.

In my above Paper, I had said: "I do not presume that my decipherment is altogether correct. There are a few difficulties in deciphering it quite correctly. One can see, both from the stone and the impression which I produce, that the slab is a little broken. It has lost a slip in a somewhat vertical line. So, words and letters, here and there, are lost. This is the principal cause of the difficulty of an altogether correct decipherment. Another cause is the difficulty of deciphering the nuktehs (نکتہ) or points occurring in Persian letters. It is difficult to determine whether a particular part of the slab bears a nukteh or only a scar as the result of the wear and tear or a careless handling of the stone. However, in spite of these petty obstacles, there is no great difficulty in deciphering the inscription, as far as the sense of the whole inscription is concerned. One may decipher a word or a letter, here and there, in a way, different from the one which I beg to submit, but I think that, that will not make much difference in the matter of the general signification of the inscription." [1]

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[1] Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 140.

The error, to which Mr. Beveridge, from his vast knowledge of the history of the Moguls, draws my attention, occurs in the fifth line of the inscription. The error arises from the above alluded difficulty of the nuktehs or points. In the fifth line there is a word, the last letters of which bear no nuktehs. I took two nuktehs *under* a letter and read it as تهیه *tahiyé* (*tahaiyat*), in the sense of "preparation, arrangement." But as said by Mr. Beveridge the word is تتهه "Tatta" He says: "The word is not Tahir تهیر but تتهه Tatta, and the meaning of the passage is that Raja Gopaldas and his son Balaram were both killed at the siege of Tatta in Scinde." Mr. Beveridge then gives references to works which refer to the siege of Tatta and the connection of Gopaldas and his son with that siege. I thankfully accept his reading of the word as Tatta, which is supported by historical references given by him. I would, therefore, correct my translation of this portion, and translate the words درجنگ تتهه بکار آمدند as "they fought [1] in the battle of Tatta or "they became useful in the battle of Tatta."

Shâh Jahân had laid siege to Tatta, and in that siege, both Gopaldâs and his son Balaram, referred to in the inscription, had proved themselves very useful. Raja Sivram Gor راجه سیورام گور was the son of Balaram and grandson of Gopaldass. While speaking of him the Maâsiru-l-Umara[2] says thus:

راجه سیورام گور — پور بلرام بن راجه گوپال داس
است چون پدر و پدر کلان او در عهد شاهزادگی اعلی
حضرت بهنگامهٔ یورش تتهه بکار آمدند او بیش از پیش
مورد التفات گردید

Translation:—Raja Sivram Gor. He is the son of Balaram, the son of Rajâ Gopâldâs. As his father and grandfather, in the time of the princedom of His Most Exalted Majesty had fought (or had become very useful) during the period of the siege of Tatta, he was more and more honoured with favours.

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[1] کار kâr, war, battle. بکار آمدن also means to be useful. So, the sentence may also mean "They became useful in the battle of Tatta."

[2] The Maâsiru-l-Umarâ (Histories or traditions of the noblemen) by Nawâb Samsam d-Daulah Shah Nawaz khan, edited by Maulavi Abdur Rahim and Maulavi Mirza Ashraf 'Ali. (1890), Vol. II, p. 263.

Again, while speaking of Raja Bithadass (Vithaldas) Gor, the second son of Gopaldas, the above work says thus [1]:—

راجه بیتهلداس کور — پسر دوم راجه گوپال داس کور است که در ایام مراجعت سلطان خرّم از بنگاله و ورود برهانپور قلعه‌دار آسیر بود پس از آن شاهزاده اورا نزد خود طلب داشته سردار خان را بجای او گذاشت و در محاصره تته باپسر جانشین خود بلرام نام بمردانگی جان نثار گردید —

Translation.—Raja Bithaldas Gor. He is the second son of Raja Gopaldass Gor, who in the time of the return of Sultan Khurram from Bengal, and arrival at Barhanpur, was the fort-commander of Asir. Afterwards, the prince, calling him before him, appointed Sirdar Khan in his place, and in the siege of Tatta, he with his son (and) heir, Balaram by name, sacrificed his life in a manly way.

This passage then shows, that Gopaldas and his son Balaram had not only fought bravely in the siege of Tatta, but were gloriously killed. So, Shâh Jehân showed all possible favours to the other sons of Gopaldas.

This corrected reading will add an event to the number of events, referred to in the inscription, on which I have dwelt at some length in my previous paper. I will describe that event here, at some length, resting on the authority of the Ikbal-Nâma-i-Jahangiri, as referred to in Elliot's History :—" Shâh Jahân, with a small party of adherents, had proceeded to Thatta. . . On approaching Thatta, Sharîfu-l Mulk, the Governor of the country, and a devoted son of Shahriyâr's, came forward arrogantly with 3,000 or 4,000 horse, and 10,000 infantry, collected from the country, to oppose Shâh Jahân's progress. The Prince had with him only 300 or 400 horse ; but Sharifu-l Mulk was afraid to attack them, and retired into the fortress of the city. The fortress had been lately repaired, many guns had been mounted and chosen parties of men held the various bastions, prepared to make a vigorous defence. Shâh Jahân forbade any attempt upon the fort, and desired to avoid a sacrifice of life from the fire of the fortress. A party of his brave fellows, not heeding his prohibition, made an attack ; but the works were too strong, and the fire too heavy, so they were repulsed. Some days later another party, unable to repress their ardour, made their attack. The ground round the fortress was level and open, with

[1] *Ibid* pp. 250-251.

not a mound, a wall, a tree, or any kind of shelter. So they placed their shields in front of them and rushed forward. They came upon a broad and deep ditch, which was full of water. To advance was impossible, to return still more so. Trusting in Providence as their fortress, there they stayed. Shâh Jahân sent to recall them, but they did not retire. Some of his most devoted servants went to bring them back; but each one that went took part with them, and choosing the road to death, never returned" (Elliot, VI pp. 432-33).

Mr. Beveridge draws my attention to two more points in my paper, not for correction, as they require no correction, but for further elucidation. These points do not refer to the inscription, but still it is worth while to draw to them the attention of the readers of my paper.

(*a*) I have referred to Raja Roz-Afzun.[1] In the abovenamed Maâsiru-l-Umara,[2] we have a long account of this Raja. He is there spoken of as the son of Raja Singram (راجہ سنگرام). In the Ain-i-Akbari,[3] this Singram is spoken of as the Raja of Kharakpur (Bihar). He had a Mahomedan name, because, though Hindu by birth, he had turned a Mahomedan.[4]

(*b*) I have referred to a seditious person, Kutb, whom I have compared with the Pseudo-Smerdis of the Achæmenian times of King Darius of Persia. This Kutb (Qutb), is thus referred to in the Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri or Memoirs of Jehangir.[5] "On the 19th Urdibihisht, in the fifth year of my reign . . . . . there occurred a strange affair at Patna . . . . . An unknown man of the name of Qutb belonging to the people of Uch, who was a mischievous and seditious fellow, came to the province of Ujjaoiyoja (Bhojpur) . . . . . represented to them that he was Khurram who had escaped from prison and conveyed himself there . . . . . He showed those deceived ones the parts about his eyes."

There are two references to Raja Mândhâta in the Maasir-i-Alamgiri.[6]

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[1] Journal Vol. XXIV, p. 145. Page 9 of my Paper. [2] Vol. II, p. 218.

[3] Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I, p. 446. [4] *Ibid*, n. 1.

[5] The Tuzuk-i Jehangiri, translated by Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Beveridge (1909), p. 173.

[6] Pages 207 and 517, Bengal Asiatic Society's Text (1871). (*a*) In one place he is spoken of as holding the Thanehdâri of Gorband; (*b*) in another as the son of Râokanku.

My previous paper has drawn the attention of another gentleman, Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte. He thus writes to me from Belvedere, Alipore, (P.O. Calcutta), on 16th January, 1916 :—

"In connection with the Persian inscription found near the District Judge's Court at Thana, published in Volume XXIV, No. I, (1914-1915), of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I know the following particulars: In the house now called the Chândraseniya Kâyasth Prabhu Social Club (No. 7 Ganpatrâw Jairâm Street), there lived in the fifties, an old gentleman, named Dâdâ Sâheb *Asirkar*. He was our neighbour as between his residence and my family house, there intervened only one building. I knew his grandson who was a little younger than myself. His name was Ramchandra, one of his arms was injured and much shorter than the other. The Asirkar family finally shifted to Bhivandi in the Thana district. My grandfather Ganpatraw Janardan Gupte was the first Government Prosecutor of the Thana District Court. He was a friend of this Dâdâ Sâheb Asirkar, and I remember to have heard the members of that family, talking of their official connection with Asirgad. I was only 6 or 7 years of age at that time, but I think that in the south-east corner of his compound, there lay a stone with some letters on it. I have asked Mr. B. V. Kharkar, B.A., who lives in the intervening house, to trace this Asirkar family and to try to get some information about their connection with Asirgad and Mâhuli. I will send you further particulars with pleasure, if I get them. I do not know whether Dâdâ Sâheb Asirkar was employed in the District Court, nor do I know how the stone was taken to the District Court. But one thing is certain that the family left Thana soon after 1858. I also know that the late Atmaram Mahipat Paralikar, Mamlatdar of Bassein (and subsequently of Poona) had in his possession a long roll of the account of building a fort, but I am not sure whether it was Parali or Mâhuli. I have a faint idea that, that fort was somewhere in the Nasik District in which my grandfather was a Munsiff. Mr. Atmaram's son is employed in the Baroda State. I have written to him too."

This letter seems to suggest, how the stone may have come to Thana. The Asirkar family, which had derived its name from its official connection with the fort of Asir in the Thana district, may also have been connected with the Mahuli fort in the Thana district. So, it is possible, that some member of that family may have brought the stone to Thana.

P.S.—After writing and reading the above correction Note, I have received another letter from the same gentleman, which shows further

the connection of the Asirkar family with some forts in the Thana district. They may also have been in charge of the Mâhuli fort and may have brought the stone from there to Thana. We do not know how it passed from their house to the Court house. In this second letter, from Belvedere, Alipore, Calcutta, dated 12th April, 1916, Rai Bahadur Gupte says :—

" I have at last been able to trace the history of the Asirgad stone. Mr. Purshottam Vaman Likhite Asirkar, a descendant of the Dâdasaheb I mentioned in my last, lives at Thana, in the house known as Mulki's Vada. He says, that his ancestors held the hereditary Potnisship of Fort Kohaj, about 7 or 8 miles from Asir Mahal in the Mahim Taluka of the present day. There is a Fort called Asirgad in that locality.

" After the British conquest, his ancestor Laxman Ramchandra Likhite lost the hereditary appointment, and became talati of Asirgad. He was subsequently made Mahalkari of Nagothana, Mamlatdar of Pen, and finally Mamlatdar of Mahim, his ancestral tract.

" After the retirement he lives in house No. 7, Kharkar Ali, *viz.*, that I have described in my last. It is quite possible that as a Mamlatdar, he may have brought down the old stone of that house, where I saw it."

The following facts about Tattah may be mentioned. It was founded by Nandu Bâhiniya, a chief of the tribe of Samma, who had received the title of Jâm (Târikh-i-Tâhiri by Mir Tâhir Muhammad Nasyâni of Thatta who lived in the beginning of the 17th century. Elliot I, p. 273). Firoz Shâh attacked and took it (Târikh-i-Firoz Shâhi, Elliot IV 12). Shah Beg took it in about 1520 (*Ibid* I, p. 500). Mujahid Khan took it in 1574, on behalf of king Akbar (*Ibid* I, p. 241). In the Maâsir-i Alamgiri, the city is called Thatta (The Bengal As. Society's Calcutta edition by Mahmad Saki Mustakhan (1871), p. 517).

The foundation of Tattah.

The Early History of the Huns and Their Inroads in India and Persia.

(*Read on 28th August* 1916.)

I.

Introduction.

During the present war, we have been often hearing of the ancient Huns, because some of the ways of fighting of our enemies have been compared to those of these people. Again, the German Emperor himself had once referred to them in his speech before his troops when he sent them under the command of his brother to China to fight against the Boxers. He had thus addressed them :—"When you meet the foe you will defeat him. No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. Just as Huns, a thousand years ago, under the leadership of Attila, gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historic tradition, so may the name of Germany become known in such a manner in China that no Chinaman will ever again dare even to look askance at a German."

Well-nigh all the countries, where war is being waged at present, were, at one time or another, the fields of the war-like activities of the Huns. Not only that, but the history of almost all the nations, engaged in the present war, have, at one time or another, been affected by the history of the Huns. The early ancestors of almost all of them had fought with the Huns.

When does the History of the Huns begin?

The writer of the article on Huns in the Encyclopædia Britannica[1] says, that "the authentic history of the Huns in Europe practically begins about the year 372 A.D., when under a leader named Balamir (or Balamber) they began a westward movement from their settlements in the steppes lying to the north of the Caspian." Though their strictly authentic history may be said to begin with the Christian era, or two or three centuries later, their semi-authentic history began a very long time before that. They had powerful monarchies and extensive empires, and illustrious conquerors and rulers. They had a glorious as well as an unglorious past during a period of nearly 2,000 years. According to the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, they had fought with the ancient Persians of the times

[1] 9th edition, Vol. 12, p. 381.

of Zoroaster and even with those of times anterior to him. The History of the Huns, is the history, as said by M. Deguignes, "of a nation almost ignored, which established, at different times, powerful monarchies in Asia, Europe and Africa. The Huns, who, later on, bore the name of 'Turks,' natives of a country situated on the North of China, between the rivers Irtish and Amur, made themselves, by degrees, masters of the whole of the great Tartary. Since 200 B. C., several royal families have successively reigned in these vast countries. They had empires more extensive than that of Rome, illustrious emperors, legislators and conquerors who have given rise to considerable revolutions."[1] It is the history of a nation, who has, through its one branch or another, "contributed to the destruction of the Roman Empire, ravaged France, Italy, Germany and all the countries North of Europe, ruined the empire of the Khalifs, and possessed the Holy land."[2] Their Empire, which, at one time, extended to Western Europe in the West, and to China in the East, has left, as it were, its marks in the names of places like *Hungary* in Europe and *Hunza*[3] in Asia. In the name of Hungary, we see its old Chinese name, *viz.*, Heungnoo or Huingnu. They were "a people who lived with glory during more than 2,000 years."[4] Gibbon[5] speaks of them as "the terror of the world." It was more than once, that they had shown themselves to be the terror of the world. It was during, what may be called, their second period of terror in Europe, that their name was associated with Attila.

The Huns, the subjects, allies, and enemies of various nations at different times.

At different times and at different places, they were the subjects, the allies and the enemies of Rome. Gaul was at different times open "to incursions of Vandals, Germans, Suevi, and savage eastern Allani." Of these, the Allani were "perhaps pressed into the Empire by the advance of the Huns from their Scythian steppes."[6] Britain was long ruled by Rome. But it was the pressure of various eastern tribes, and, among them, that of the Huns, which compelled Rome to look after its own home in Italy and to withdraw its army and its protection from Britain. In about 406 A.D., Rome withdrew its legions from

[1] I translate from "Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux, &c., avant et depuis Jesus Christ jusqu' a présent," par M. Deguignes (1756) Tome premier, partie premiere, Preface p. V. [2] *Ibid*, p. VI.

[3] Lit. Place (Jâ) of the Huns. It is also known as Kanjud. It is a State on the Upper Indus, forming a part of the country of Gilgit.

[4] Histoire des Huns, &c., by M. Deguignes, p. XXV.

[5] Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1745), Vol. II, p. 342.

[6] "Leaders and Landmarks in European History," by A. H. R. Moncrieff and H. J. Chaytor, Vol. I, p. 149.

Britain.[1] They had long wars with the ancient Romans, the ancient Germans and with other nations of Europe. During these wars, they had advanced up to the further West of Europe. Their wars and their inroads had even forced some of the people of the West to cross over the sea and to go to Africa. Again, they had frequent wars with the ancient Persians from very early times to the later times of the Sassanians. Coming to India, they had made more than one inroad into the country. Not only had they made inroads, but had made a long stay and ruled for a number of years over various parts of the country, extending from Kathiawar[2] to Pataliputra. They had their capital at Sialkote. They are even said to have imported into India alien Brahmins from the West.

Hunnic blood mixed with that of several nations.

History has recorded inter-marriages of the princes and princesses of some of the nations of the West and the East with the princesses and princes of the Huns. The fact of these royal marriages suggests, that there must have been inter-marriages among their respective subjects also. From all these facts and considerations, which we will examine in this Paper, one may say, that the blood of many of the branches of the above nations, both of the West and the East, has been mixed with that of the Huns. In connection with this subject, one may read with great interest, Mr. R. Bhandarkar's very interesting article in the Indian Antiquary,[3] entitled "Foreign elements in Hindu population," wherein, the learned author points to the Huns also, as forming a foreign element in the Indian population. It is in the company of these Huns, that the tribe of the Gujars is said to have come from without to India—the tribe that gave its name to our Gujarat in the West of India, and to Gujarat and Gujaranwala in the Punjab.

II.

The object of the Paper and the division of the subject. Four great kingdoms in the first few centuries before and after Christ. The relation of the Huns with them.

It is such a people that forms the subject of my Paper. I propose to speak of them, not only from the Western point of view, but also from the Iranian and Indian points of view. The object of this Paper is, not so much to give any running history of this people, as to refer to some events in their history which had some far-reaching results. The subject was suggested to me during my study for a paper on "The Hunas of the Indian books in the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees," contributed for the coming memorial volume in honour of our vener-

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] For their relations with Kathiawar, *vide* the recent (1916) interesting book on "The History of Kathiawar," by Captain H. Wilberforce Bell, pp. 32, 37, 40.

[3] Indian Antiquary of January 1911.

able and esteemed Sanskrit scholar, Dr. Sir Ramcrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, on the occasion of his 80th birthday. This Paper is based on collateral notes collected during the study for that paper. It contains only a passing reference to the special subject of that paper.

In the few centuries before and after Christ, there existed the following great kingdoms :—

1 China in the East, 2 Rome in the West, 3 Persia under the Parthian rule and 4 India. The last two stood between the first two, as connecting links.

The Huns, under different names, had relations with the nations of all these four great kingdoms, and lived, at times, now and then, here and there, on the frontiers of these four great kingdoms, harassed their people and had long wars with them. Again, at times, they lived as subjects of these kingdoms and at times, as their allies. We will speak of the relations of the Huns with these four great powers at or about the commencement of the Christian era.

Our sources of information on the History of the Huns are various.

Sources of information.

1. Firstly, as to their relation with China, we have to look to the Chinese annals, which give us also a glimpse into their origin and very early history. We find a good account based on these annals, in the "Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux, &c.", by M. Deguignes. In this connection, we must bear in mind, that the Huns were known in different countries and in different ages by various names, such as, Turcs, Mongols, Tartares, Haetalites, &c.

2. For their relations with Rome, in whose decline and fall, they had a strong hand, we have to look to various classical writers, whose accounts have been presented to us by various recent writers. Gibbon has spoken of them in his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

3. As to Persia, we have references to them in the Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees, where they are spoken of as Hûnus. I will not speak of these references here, as I have referred to them, as said above, in a separate paper in the Bhandarkar Memorial Volume. Several Mahomedan writers on the history of Persia, such as Firdousi, Maçoudi, and Tabari, have spoken of them. But they have not spoken of them under their original name of Huns but as Haetalites, Turcs, &c. I will refer to them, when I speak of the inroads of the Huns in the Sassanian times.[1]

[1] We get a very good account of them in the late M. E. Drouin's "Mémoire sur les Ephtnalites dans leurs Rapports avec les Rois Perses Sassanides" (1895).

4. Coming to our own country, India, they are referred to in Indian books and in Indian inscriptions. Just as they had, following the inroads of the German and Gothic tribes, a strong hand in bringing about the downfall of the Roman Empire, and just as they had, followed by the Arabs, a hand in the downfall of the Sassanian Empire of Persia, they had a hand in the downfall of the Indian Empire of the Gupta dynasty. Again, their inroads into India should not be taken as a separate event in their history. Just as in times before Christ, the check, which they had received in their inroad into China by the construction of the Great China Wall, had forced them to turn to the West, towards the countries of the Roman Empire, so the check, which some of their tribes received in Europe, partially in, and mostly after, Atilla's time, drove them back towards the East, towards Persia and India. Though their inroads into Persia had weakened the Persian Empire, they had a substantial check there and it was this check again that drove them strongly towards India.

III.

Origin and early history. Their movements guided by the want of Bread and Butter.

Before coming to the subject proper of this Paper, *viz.*, their inroads into the countries of the above four great kingdoms in the first century before Christ, we will say a few words on their origin and earlier history, for which subject the Chinese annals, as studied and described by M. Deguignes, are our main authority.

The writer of the article on Huns in the Encyclopædia Britannica[1] says: "We have no adequate philological data for conclusively determining the ethnological position of the ancient Huns.....The Huns, in all probability, belonged to the Turkish branch of the great Turanian race." The Avesta and Pahlavi books of the Parsees support this view.

Tartary has been the name by which a very extensive part of Asia, north of India, has been known. It has been divided into Eastern Tartary and the Western Tartary. Their people, the Tartars, and especially the Western Tartars, are known as Huns. The Eastern Tartars have played an important part in the history of Asia, forming powerful empires here and there, but it was very rarely that they marched towards Europe. The Avars, who latterly played some important part in the history of Western Asia and Eastern Europe, are the only branch of the Eastern Tartars who went to the East. But, though they themselves did not go to the West, it is they, who, as it were,

[1] 9th Edition, Vol. XII, p. 382.

forced the Western Tartars, the Huns, to go to the West. They invaded the country of the Western Tartars and made them fly to the West. It is the Western Tartars who marched towards the West, towards India and Persia in Asia, and towards Rome, France, Germany, etc., in Europe, that are known as Huns. They are called Hûnus by Iranian writers, Hunas by Indian writers and Huns by Roman writers. In Tartary itself they bore the name of Hiengnou.[1] M. Deguignes identifies them with the Heungnoo or Hiungnu, who, according to Chinese writers, owned a great empire from the Caspian to the frontiers of China. This empire then fell into a state of anarchy and lost all its influence at the end of the first century A.D. One section of this fallen race went to the West, settled in the country near the river Ural and became the ancestors of the Huns, who, 300 years after, re-asserted their power and influence under Balamir and came into contact with the Romans.

Thus, what we see is this: The Huns leave their Asiatic country and advance towards the West as well as towards the East. In the West, they drive tribes after tribes from their countries. These tribes, being driven from their countries, enter, at times peacefully, but generally, fighting into other regions and drive away the people thereof. The people, thus driven in their turn, force others to leave their places. It is something like what would happen in a crowd. Those behind push those in their front. These in their turn, push those before them and so on. Thus, the slightest push or rush behind produces a rush all along the line and even in the distant front. This was what happened in the case of the inroads of these people towards the West—in Europe as well as in Asia.

Now, what is at the bottom of these grand national or tribal pushes, is the demand for Bread and Butter. Dr. Ellesworth Huttington has very well illustrated this fact in his "Pulse of Asia. A Journey in Central Asia, illustrating the Geographical basis of History." He dwells upon, and illustrates, what is called "the Geographic Theory of History." Applying this to the History of Europe, what we find is this: The Huns who lived in Asia, were, owing to a change in the physical condition of their country, obliged to leave their country in search of bread. They gradually dispersed in large numbers. Some went to the East and some to the West. In their search for bread, they drove away by force the people of the country where they found bread. The people thus displaced, proceeded further and drove away the people of the country they occupied. Thus, it was that the Huns had driven

[1] Histoire Générale des Huns" by M. Deguignes, Tome I, Partie I, p. 213.

away some of the German tribes, who, in their turn, went to other countries.

Their History in the East on the authority of Chinese annals.

M. Deguignes begins their history, on the authority of Chinese accounts, at about 1200 B. C.[1] Though it is since 209 B. C., that we get some proper materials for their history, they flourished long before that time. Their first empire was destroyed by the Chinese and it was restored by Teon-man-tanjou, who was their first Emperor, known in history. He died in 209 B. C. M. Deguignes gives a long list of his successors from B. C. 209 to A. C. 93.[2] During the reign of one of these successors, Pou-nou-tanjou, who came to the throne in 46 A.D., a great famine devasted their country and weakened their empire. During the time of weakness and difficulty, they were driven to the North by the Eastern Tartars. The Chinese also attacked them and compelled them to leave their country. Some of them went towards Kashgar and Aksou. Thus, their empire in Tartary, in the north of China known as the country of Turkestan, was destroyed.

It was a branch of these early Huns, that latterly went to Europe at the time when Emperor Valens was ruling at Rome. They were then ruled by their chiefs, of whom Balamir was the principal (A.D. 376). M. Deguignes[3] gives a list of the dates of his reign, and of his successors' or contemporaries' reigns as follows :—

Balamir...	A. D. 376.
Uldes	,, 400. A prince named Donat was his contemporary.
Aspar	,, 424.
Roilas	,, 425.
Roua or Rugula	,, 433.
Attila and Bleda (the nephews of Roua)	Bleda died in 444. Then Attila ruled alone and died in 454.

Some of these may be contemporaries ruling over different tribes.

Ellac, Denghisic, Hernack, the three sons of Attila, divided the countries of Attila among themselves and among their two other relatives, Emnedzar and Uzindar. These princes were defeated by the Romans and the power of the Huns in Europe was destroyed in 468 A.D. Some Huns preserved their power round about Georgia. Some

[1] "C'est aux environs de l'an 1,200 avant J. C. que nous devons placer le commencemen de l'Empire des Huns." "Histoire des Huns." Tome I., P. I., p. 216.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* p. 218.

others ruled in the country near the Danube and continued there up to the time of their chief Zambergam who became Christian in 618 A. D. Since that time, the Huns have been mixed up with the Avars above referred to, who were an offshoot of the Eastern Tartars.

The above named Pou-nou-tanjou (46 A. D.) had, in order to secure the succession to the throne, to his son, got murdered another rival prince. Another prince of the family of Pe, King of Gesui, closely related to the murdered prince had raised a revolt. He ruled in the south in the countries close to China. His country formed the Empire of the Huns of the South. He declared himself the Tanjou or Emperor of that kingdom. He made an alliance with the Chinese and took an active part in weakening the Huns of the North. But, in return, they were much weakened by many of their tribes joining with the Huns of the North. So, in the North, at about 48 A. D., another powerful dynasty was formed. Deguignes gives us a list of these rulers from 48 to 216 A. D. [1]

IV.

Now, we will speak, one after another, of their relations with, or inroads into, the territories of the Chinese, Persian, Roman, and Indian Empires.

I.—Their relations with the Chinese Empire.

The Huns in the 3rd century B. C. and the Great Wall of China.

According to the Chinese writers, in the third century B. C., their rule extended from the Caspian Sea to China. One of the Chinese Emperors, named Cheng, built in the 3rd century B. C., a great wall to prevent their frequent inroads into his territories. This emperor had come to the throne in 246 B. C. at the age of 13. He drove away the Huns in 215 B. C. and then built the Great Wall. By an irony of fate, China was up to late, ruled by the princes of the Manchou Tartars who were the descendants of the very race against whom the Chinese wall was built. It is said of this Great Wall that about 30 lacs of men were engaged in building it. An army of 3 lacs of men was engaged to defend the labourers. It was more than 1,500 miles long. It was 10 to 40 feet in height and 15 feet in breadth. One of the reasons for the Fall and Decline of Rome (and also of the check of the rising power of the then Germans to a certain extent) was this Great Chinese Wall. Of course, the inroads into Italy of the Teutonic tribes, which formed the German nation in the 5th century, formed, one of the reasons—one of the principal reasons, perhaps the principal reason—of the downfall of the Roman Empire. But, we will see later

[1] *Ibid*, p. 219.

on, that these German hordes were dispersed and driven towards Italy by these Huns, the barbarian hordes of Central Asia.

The Pyramids, the Great Wall of China, and the Himalays are spoken of by some to be the three greatest Wonders of the World. Of these three, one—the Himalays—is the work of Nature. It is the Great Wall of India, built by the hand of no Emperor, but by God, that Emperor of Emperors, that Grand Architect of Architects. Had it not been so placed or built, imagine what would have been the trouble of our rulers to protect the country from Northern invaders. This wall of Nature gives one an idea of the importance of the Chinese Wall to the great Chinese Empire. The Pyramids form a grand work of man. But they are mere mausoleums, and had and have no practical use, proportional to the great expense of money and trouble spent over them. But the Great Wall of China had the practical purpose of defending the country, thus saving enormous military expenditure. The Romans under Julius Cæsar built a wall on the Rhine, about 200 years after the Great Chinese Wall. It was on a smaller scale and it was to protect the frontiers of the Roman Empire against some barbarian German tribes. Perhaps, the idea of this wall was suggested to Rome by the Chinese Wall. This Roman Wall on the Rhine was broad enough on the top to serve as a military road. But it did not serve its purpose as a practical work. The German hordes were too strong for it. But the Chinese Wall served its purpose against the Huns. The Chinese Emperor, who began building it, died in 210 B. C., while the Wall was being built.

The result of building the Chinese Wall.

Being stopped in their frequent inroads into China in the East, the Huns turned their attention to the West. They gradually advanced to the West. It was not a sudden march from the East to the West, but was a work of years, nay of centuries. Those were not the times of regulated Transport or Commissariat departments in the East, especially in the case of wandering tribes like those of the Huns. What they did was this : When they were stopped in their advances at one place, they turned to another. They stopped there and continued to live there as long as they comfortably could. Feeling some kind of pinch, they advanced further. In these advances, at times, the tribes or the people whose country they occupied, advanced further in search of fresh fields for food.

The Great Chinese Wall, having prevented the Huns from making frequent encroachments on the Chinese territories, forced them to turn towards the West in the direction of Asiatic and Greek Kingdoms, and towards the south-west where lived the Yue-chi. These Eastern Huns, at

first attacked the U-suivi tribes, who in their turn attacked the Yue-chi. These Yue-chi, being thus pushed by the Huns, turned towards the West and attacked the Su living on Lake Balkash. The Su tribe, which was thus attacked, consisted of the different Turanian tribes, such as the Messagatæ, Tochari and Dahæ, who lived on the frontiers of Persia on the shores of the Upper Jaxartes. The Dahæ seems to be the Dahi of the Dâhinâm Dakhyunâm of the Farvardin Yasht[1] of the Parsees, which speaks of the five known countries of the then world. The Su tribe, being attacked by the Huns, advanced to the Caspian from the Oxus. The Su tribes, who included the Dahæ and the Messagatæ then attacked the Greeco-Asiatic Kingdom of Bactria and the Asiatic state of Parthia. All this began to happen from about 50 years after the erection of the Great Chinese Wall. The Parthians opposed the above tribes. Thereupon, they turned back. The Scyths, Su and Yue-chi invaded India and made their settlements in Punjab. These inroads of the Huns on the Asiatic tribes postponed their inroads for a time in Europe.

V.

II.—Their Relations with the Roman Empire.

The Huns in the West after Christ.

Claudius Ptolemy, the well-kown Egyptian Geographer, who lived at Alexandria in the early part of the second century A. D., refers to the Xoûvoi Chuni (Chœnoi) a tribe of the Huns, as living between the tribes of the Basternæ and the Roxalani on the Dneiper?[2]

Dionysius Periegetes, who lived at some time about 200 A. D., is said to have referred to Huns living on the borders of the Caspian. But doubts are entertained about these references to the earlier presence of the Huns in Europe, and the authentic history of their progress in the West begins in the 4th century after Christ. Their settlements were known to exist in the north of the Caspian. They advanced westwards in 372 A. D. Under the leadership of the above referred to Balamir, they defeated the Alani who occupied the district between the Volga and the Don. They then enlisted these Alani into their own service. They, afterwards, invaded the country of the Ostrogoths (Eastern Goths), ruled over by Ermanaric or Hermanric, in 374 and subjugated them in the time of Hunimand, the son of Hermanric. They advanced further and defeated the Visigoths (or Tirvingi). For 50 years, they thus conquered the various tribes in the north of Italy, which was then not only free from their attack, but, at times

[1] Yasht XIII, 144.

[2] Prof. Nobbe's Text (1843), p. 172, Bk. III, Chap. V, 25.

received their help in its war with others, *e.g.*, the Ostrogoths. In 404-5, the Huns under a chief, named Uldin, helped the Roman general Honorius in his fight with the Ostrogoths under Radagaisus or Ratigar. They spread in Dæcia, which is now called Hungary after their name. In 409, they invaded Bulgaria. In 432 or 433, their King Ruas or Rugulus received from Theodosius II an annual tribute of £350 of gold, *i.e.*, 14,000 £ sterling and the rank of a Roman general.

Aetius, a promising young Roman, was one of the hostages, given to this Hunnic King, Ruas or Rugulas. Having acquired some influence with the Huns, he led an army of 60,000 Huns to Italy to advance his own interests in his country. Differences soon arose again between Theodosius and Ruas. Ruas objected (*a*) to the Romans making alliances with some tribes on the river Danube, which tribes, he said, were his subjects, and (*b*) to their allowing refuge to some of his unruly Huns. These differences would have renewed hostilities, but Ruas died soon after. On his death, his nephews, Attila and Bleda or Belda, succeeded him.

A glance into the History of England which formed a part of the Roman Empire at this time.

Let us cast a glance at the history of England at this time, and see, how it was affected by that of the Huns. Britain formed a part of the Roman Empire, and, as such, had a Roman army for its protection. Some German legions also formed a part of this army. The Zoroastrian Mithraism of ancient Persia, several monuments of which have been found in London, York, Gloucestershire, New Castle and other places, is said to have been introduced into England by, among others, these German legions of the Roman army of occupation.[1] Rome, when it began to be invaded by eastern tribes, had to look to the safety of its own home than to that of distant dominions like Britain. It had its difficulties first with the Goths and then with the Huns. So, Britain was much neglected. The Scots and the Picts often invaded England in the 4th century A. D. In 368 A. D., they had penetrated as far as London. Rome, owing to its own home difficulties, could not attend to the appeal of Britain to send troops for its protection. Rome withdrew the last of its regular army from England, in about 406 A. D. But, at the earnest demand of the people, it sent its legions again in 418 A. D. to protect the country against the inroads of the Scots and the Picts. The legions drove away the invaders, repaired British fortresses and instructed native Britons how to defend themselves and returned to Rome.

[1] Cumont's Mithraism. *Vide* Legge's Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity.

The Scots and the Picts again invaded England. The people, under their Gaulish Bishop, St. Germaine of Auxaine, defeated them in 429 A.D. The victory at this battle is known as, "the Halleluja Victory" on account of the well-known cry of Hallelujah[1] being raised at it by the soldiers. In 446 A.D., the Britons again asked for help from Rome against the invading Scots. But Rome itself was then rapidly falling on account of its wars with the Huns. The letter to Rome asking for help is known as "the groans of the Britons." Actius, the Roman General, commanded the army of the tottering empire of Rome, which was threatened by Attila. The Romans having refused the required help, the Britons called for help the Saxons who lived on the North-Western coast of Germany. They were to a certain extent as bad barbarians at that time as the Picts and the Scots, but, in times of difficulty, were looked to as saviours. The Saxons themselves were feeling the pressure of the advancing Huns on the continent; so, perhaps, they eagerly grasped this opportunity to save themselves as well as the Britons.

As said by Mr. Moncrieff, "it has been surmised with some probability, that it was the pressure of Attila's conquest that drove our Saxon forefathers to make settlements in Britain. He is said to have formed an alliance as far east as China, and thus to have neutralized another Tartar host that would have pressed him from that side as he pressed upon the western tribes. Not for the first nor the last time now did Asian hordes overflow from their steppes into Europe."[2]

Attila.

Attila or Etzel, born in 406 A.D., became the king of Huns in 434 A.D. He was the son of Mundzuk, the brother of the last Hunnic king, Ruas or Rugulus, whom the Roman King Theodosius paid the annual tribute of £14,000. Before he came to the throne, the Romans and the Huns were on the point of war, which, however, was avoided by the death of his uncle King Ruas or Rugulus. Attila, on coming to the throne, made a treaty, the treaty of Margus, near modern Belgrade, said to have been made by both sides on horseback. By this treaty, the Romans of the Eastern Empire under Theodosius consented to pay double the original tribute, *i.e.*, £28,000 sterling. Certain other terms acknowledging the power of the Huns were accepted. Among these terms were the following :—(*a*) The Romans were to return to the Huns some of their subjects who had taken refuge in Roman country ; (*b*) a fine of £8 to be paid by the Romans

[1] Hallelujah is Hebrew Alleluiah, *i.e.* 'Praise (you) Jehovah" ('halal' to praise and 'yah', an abbreviation of Yehovah).

[2] Leaders and Landmarks in European History from early to modern times (1914), by A. R. H. Moncrieff and Rev. H. J. Chaytor, Vol. I, p. 151.

for every fugitive not to be traced ; (*c*) several markets were to be open both to the Huns and the Romans ; (*d*) Rome was to make no alliance with any tribe that may be at war with Attila. After this temporary peace with Rome which lasted for 8 years, the Huns reduced Scythia to subjugation and then thought of attacking Persia again. They had at one time already ravaged Media, a part of Persia. They also advanced westwards to the Rhine and fought with the Burgundians. The Roman Empire was at the time divided into two Empires, the Eastern and the Western. They invaded both (A. D. 441). They attacked Constantinople, but peace was soon made, whereby Attila was offered thrice the previous annual tribute, *viz.*, £84,000 and a large sum as indemnity. Bleda died in 445 A. D. So Attila ruled alone. During the above negotiations, Theodosius had plotted for his assassination. Attila censured him for want of honour and courage, but, before he could do anything, Theodosius died and was succeeded by Marcian, who refused to pay any tribute. Attila did not mind this refusal, because his attention in the meantime was drawn towards the Western Empire where Princess Honoria, the sister of Valentinian, who was once confined at Constantinople for her frailties, tired of unmarried life, sent to him her ring and an offer of marriage. He accepted that offer and then began to claim half the Roman Empire as her dowry. The Visigoths were then hostile to the Romans. The Vandals offered to join him against these Visigoths under Theodoric. So, in 451, he led an army of 700,000 men through central Germany, and crossed the Rhine. He defeated the Burgundians and passed through Gaul, and was checked jointly by the Visigoths under Theodoric and the Romans under General Actius at Chalons[1] on the Marne. In the great battle that was fought, Theodoric was killed. His son Thorismund retrieved the fortune of the day and drove Attila back to his camp. Attila is said to have lost from 160,000 to 300,000 men. But this is believed to be some exaggeration, as this defeat was not a crushing defeat for the Huns, who withdrew for the time to their headquarters at somewhere near modern Budapest. Next year, Attila invaded the country on the Adriatic. Venice owes its foundation to this inroad of the Huns. The fugitives from his ravages went and founded this city in the lagoons of the Adriatic Coast. Attila then marched against Rome, which would have fallen, had it not been saved by the embassy of Pope Leo. It is said that Pope Leo boldly came to him and threateningly warned him saying : "Thus far and no further." It is believed that St. Peter and St. Paul also appeared miraculously before Attila and threatened him. Attila at once withdrew from any further attack on Rome. The motive of the withdrawal is not known. He

[1] Some writers say that the place of his defeat was Mory and not Chalons.

was moved more by superstition at the serious words of a priest than by mercy, and abstained from entering into Rome. This event saved the Roman civilization from the hands of the Huns. Shortly after, he died (453 A.D.) from the bursting of a blood vessel on the very night of his marriage with Ildiko or Hilda, a beautiful Gothic maiden. Under the banner of Attila's Huns, there fought, at one time, some of the German tribes—the Ostrogoths, Gepidæ, Alani, Heruli and many other Teutonic tribes. His Huns ruled over countries extending from the Rhine to the frontiers of Chalon. His men looked at him with a superstitious awe as a god possessing the iron-sword of the god of war. He is said to have assumed the name of the "Scourge of God" or "the Fear of the World." He was buried in a golden coffin, covered over by a silver coffin, which, in its turn, was put in an iron coffin. His Huns got his grave dug by war-prisoners, who then were killed immediately, so that the place of his tomb may not be known to others.[1]

The German epic and Attila.

The great German national epic, known as Nibelungenlied, refers to Attila. According to this epic, Kriemhild was the widow of one Siegfried, who was murdered out of jealousy by Gunther, her brother, the King of Burgundy. On her husband's death, she married Attila and thought of avenging the death of her first husband. She asked Attila to invite her brother and his nobles to dinner at Buda Pesth. She then asked her friends to attack them. They all were killed by sword or fire. She also then died.

The Invasion of Atilla giving a blow to Persian Mithraism in Europe.

It was the invasion of Europe by Attila preceded by that of Allaric, that gave a strong blow to Mithraism that had spread in Europe from the Persian towns of Asia Minor, &c., the disseminating medium being the Roman legions, the Syrian and other merchants and slaves, the imperial officers, &c.[2] Mithraism had spread even in Britain, where several Mithræa have been excavated.[3] It had spread in Germany[4], and it is said, that it were the German legions who formed a part of the Roman army of occupation in Britain that had a great hand in its spread there, in various places like York, Gloucester, Chester and even as far in the

[1] For some further particulars about Attila, *vide* "Leaders and Landmarks in European History" by Mr. Moncrieff and Rev. Chaytor, pp. 151 *et seq.*

[2] "The Mysteries of Mithra" by Prof. Franz Cumont, translated from the second revised French edition by Thomas J. McCormack (1903), pp. 40 *et seq.*, 61 *et seq.*, 74 *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 50 *et seq.*

[4] "Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, being Studies in Religious History from 330 B. C. to 330 A. D." by F. Legge (1915), Vol. II, p. 230, n. 3.

north as Carlisle and New Castle.[1] Like many other legions of the army of the great Roman Empire, these German legions also seem to have kindly taken to Mithraism, when they came into contact with the Persian soldiers in the frequent wars of the Romans with the Persians. The Cult of Mithra, in one form or another, is said to be very old. The recent discovery of some inscriptions leads to show, that Mithra " was one of the most exalted deities of the presumably Aryan Hittites or Mitannians at a date not later than 1272 B.C." [2] One scholar carries the date of one of the inscriptions to 1900 B. C.[3]

The outline, in which Mr. Legge sums up M. Cumont's account of the spread of Mithraism, enables one to see properly the part that Alaric and Attila and their Huns played in giving a blow to this Mithraism, and in preparing Europe for the further spread of Christianity of which it was a principal rival.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 50 *et seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. LXII.

[3] *Ibid*, n. 3.

[4] Mr. Legge's outline runs as follows :—

" As usual, the official form of religion in the Roman Empire had for some time given indications of the coming change in the form of Government. The sun had always been the principal natural object worshipped by the Persians, and a high-priest of the Sun-God had sat upon the Imperial throne of Rome in the form of the miserable Heliogabalus. Only 33 years before Diocletian, Aurelian, son of another Sun-God's priestess and as virile and rugged as his predecessor was soft and effeminate, had also made the Sun-God the object of his special devotion and of an official worship. Hence Diocletian and his colleague Galerius were assured in advance of the approval of a large part of their subjects when they took the final plunge in 307 A. D., and proclaimed Mithras, " the unconquered Sun-God," the Protector of their Empire.

" In spite of this, however, it is very difficult to say how Mithras originally became known to the Romans. Plutarch says indeed that his cult was first introduced by the Cilician pirates who were put down by Pompey! This is not likely to be literally true; for the summary methods adopted by these sea-robbers towards their Roman prisoners hardly gave much time for proselytism, while most of the pirates whom Pompey spared at the close of his successful operations he deported to Achæa, which was one of the few places within the Empire where the Mitharaic faith did not afterwards shew itself. What Plutarch's story probably means is that the worship of Mithras first came to Rome from Asia Minor and there are many facts which go to confirm this. M. Cumont, the historian of Mithraism, has shown, that long before the Romans set foot in Asia, there were many colonies of emigrants from Persia who with their magi or priests had settled in Asia Minor, including in that phrase Galatia, Phrygia, Lydia, and probably Cilicia. When Rome began to absorb these provinces, slaves, prisoners, and merchants from them would naturally find their way to Rome, and in time would no doubt draw together for the worship of their national deities in the way that we have seen pursued by the worshippers of the Alexandrian Isis and the Jewish exiles. The *magi* of Asia Minor were great supporters of Mithridates, and the Mithridatic wars were no doubt responsible for a large number of these immigrants.

" Once introduced, however, the worship of Mithras spread like wild-fire. The legions from the first took kindly to it, and this is the less surprising when we find that many of them were recruited under the earliest emperors in Anatolian states like Commagene, where the cult

It is pointed out that "the strictly monarchial doctrine" of Mithraism had appealed greatly to the Roman emperors who saw that "in a quasi-Oriental despotism lay the only chance of salvation for the Roman Empire."[1] In passing to the West and in spreading there, it had undergone such a change from its original form, that, according to Mr. Legge, "Western Mithraism was looked upon by the Sassnian reformers as a dangerous heresy."[2] This rather gave to the Roman emperors "an additional reason for supporting it."[3] Dacia, the country of modern Hungary and Roumania, had become the centre of many Mithræa in the time of Trajan who favoured Mithraism "as an universal and syncretic religion."[4] So, a short time after, with the desolation of Dacia at the hand of the Goths and the Vandals, Mithraism, which had its principal seat there, centred in the midst of a number of Mithræa, received a great blow. When Aurelian abandoned Dacia in 255 A. D. to the Goths and the Vandals, Mithraism suffered a great blow, which paved the way for Christianity, because, with the fall of Dacia, people began to look more towards the Christian Constantinople than the Pagan Rome as the seat of the Roman empire. The Mithræa or the temples of Mithras began to be wrecked and plundered. The masses began to turn from Mithraism to Christianity. The adherents of Mithra, popularly known as the "Capped One" from the fact of their priest putting on a particular cap (the mitre) grew less and less. Thus, the invasions of Attila, which gave a great

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was, if not indigenous, yet of very early growth. Moreover the wars of the Romans against the Persians kept them constantly in the border provinces of the two empires, where the native populations not infrequently changed masters. The enemy's town that the legions besieged one year might therefore give them a friendly reception the next; and there was thus abundant opportunity for the acquaintance of both sides with each other's customs. When the Roman troops marched back to Europe, as was constantly the case during the civil wars which broke out on the downfall of the Julian house, they took back with them the worship of the new god whom they had adopted, and he thus became known through almost the whole of the Roman Empire. 'From the shores of the Euxine to the north of Brittany and to the fringe of the Sahara,' as M. Cumont says, its monuments abound, and, he might have added, they have been met with also in the Egyptian Delta, in Babylon, and on the northern frontiers of India. In our own barbarous country we have found them not only in London and York, but as far west as Gloucester and Chester and as far north as Carlisle and Newcastle. The Balkan countries, like Italy, Germany, Southern France, and Spain, are full of them; but there was one part of the Roman Empire into which they did not penetrate freely. This was Greece, where the memories of the Persian Wars long survived the independence of the country, and where the descendants of those who fought at Salamis, Marathon and Thermopylæ would have nothing to do with a god coming from the invaders' fatherland. It is only very lately that the remains of Mithras-worship have been discovered at the Piræus and at Patras, in circumstances which show pretty clearly that it was there practised only by foreigners." (Fore-runners and Rivals of Christanity, being Studies in Religious History from 330 B. C. to 330 A. D., by F. Legge (1915, pp. 228-30).

[1] *Ibid* Vol. II, p. 270. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid*, p. 271.

blow to the power of Rome, also gave a great blow to Mithraism and a great impetus to Christianity.[1]

A kind of Zoroastrian Mithraism in England.

In connection with this subject of the spread of Zoroastrian Mithraism in Europe, it may be said that Sir George Birdwood seems to think that some Zoroastrians even served in the Roman army. They had entered in the service of the Roman empire in Western Asia where Rome had many possessions. With the advent of the Roman army into England as the army of occupation, these Zoroastrian soldiers had gone to England, and when there, they may have had a direct hand in the spread of Mithraism. Zoroastrian Mithraism paved the way for Christianity, in so far, as it first shook and then broke to a certain extent the ancient paganism.[2]

(a) The habits of the Huns in very early times.

(*a*) The food of the ordinary Huns in the very early period of their history was of roots of some trees and half-raw flesh of all animals. (*b*) Horses were their unseparable companions. They lived as it were, on the back of horses, because in marches they ate on their back and even slept over them. (*c*) They were a wandering tribe and as such did not live in houses. (*d*) Their clothing was made partly of linen and partly of the skin of field mice. (*e*) Their implements of war for fighting from a little distance were jevelins pointed with bones, and for fighting from close quarters swords and lassos. (*f*) In attacks, they did not advance in lines or ranks but rather in loose array.

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[1] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 273. For a succinct account of the spread of Mithraism, *vide* also "The Religious Life of Ancient Rome" by Jesse Benedict Carter (1912), pp. 87-94.

[2] Sir George Birdwood thus speaks on the subject: "Europe owes the establishment and endowment of Christianity as a State religion to the fact that Constantine the great was attracted to it by the religion of the Zoroastrians, who had served in the Roman legions under his command. Zoroastrians, with the neo-Platonists and Christians were the three principal spiritualizing influences closely inter-related, and equally free from dogmatic theology that at last broke down the whole structure of paganism west of the Indus right on to Great Britain; and on the ruins of the temples of Greece and Rome appeared the domes and towers and spires of the Catholic Roman Schismatic Greek Churches. In Great Britain, there are, I believe, 40 contemporary monuments of ancient Persians, Zoroastrians of the Roman army of occupation in these islands; and the remains of several of them are to be found along the wall of Hadrian within a cycle sweep of Edinburgh. At St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, the abbot of Ramsay in the 11th century, dedicated a chapel to Ivo, a Zoroastrian, who came to England and died here in the 7th century—possibly as a refugee from Iran when first invaded by the Arabs. Our Western code of social etiquette reaches us from the ancient Persian Court, through the Court of the Cæsars of Constantinople and thence through the courts of the Mediæval Christiandom that sprang up out of the dust of fallen Rome. It was this 'Persian apparatus' of social etiquette that taught the barbarians who overthrew Rome good manners and made us 'gentilemen' gentlemen." (Sir George Birdwood's letter to the Edinburgh Parsee Union—The Parsi of 30th August 1908.)

(*b*) The manners and customs of the Huns in Attila's time.

Priscus, one of the ambassadors from the Roman Empire to the Court of Attila, has left us some account of the manners and customs of the later Huns, based on what he saw during his stay in Attila's Camp. From this, we learn the following [1] :—

1. Attila's quarters in his camp were in a "palace of logs and planks, enclosed by palisades and dignified by turrets."
2. His many wives had separate lodges, where they worked at preparing showy dresses for the soldiers.
3. Some of the Romans, who were taken prisoners, married Hunnic women in Attila's Camp.
4. Their dinner time was at three in the afternoon, which they called "the 9th hour," counting the hours from six in the morning.
5. The first thing offered before dinner was a cup of wine, which the guests drank in honour and for the health of their host. It was after drinking this health that they took their seats for dinner.
6. At dinner, the king sat on a coach, his eldest son sitting by his side in reverential awe for his father.
7. The king had a simple clean dress but the nobles had their arms, bridles, and even the shoes of their horses decorated with jewels. The king drank and ate in wooden cups and plates, but the nobles ate in silver and gold ones.
8. They ate at separate tables in parties of three or four.
9. The king's fare was mostly flesh, while the others had meat, bread, relishes and wine.
10. The king sent his cup to an honoured guest who stood up and drank it standing. Each guest had a separate cupbearer.
11. In the evening, minstrels sang at the Court. This singing was accompanied by or followed by some musical performances. In connection with this matter, Mr. Moncrieff adds: "This is the type of a Tartar, and the description of his rude Court is not unlike what may be seen to-day in a Mongol Chief's *Yurt*; nor indeed were his revels more barbarous than those of the Germans and Gothic kings he turned into vassals. In quite modern days we read of Hungarian feasts as graced by the like rude minstrelsy."[2]

[1] The Leaders and Landmarks in European History, by Moncrieff, Vol. I, pp. 151 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

12. They took special care to hide the tombs of their kings. They buried them in much-sequestered places and then killed the diggers of the graves, so that they may not tell anybody where the king was buried, lest somebody may remove his body. At times, they diverted waters of rivers from their natural beds, and then, burying their kings in those beds, let the water flow in again.

Claudian on the Huns of the 5th century A. D.

Claudian the poet, who has written on the Fall of the Roman Empire, has thus given a picture of the Huns of the 5th century:

"There is a race on Scythia's verge extreme
Eastward beyond the Taurs' chilly stream.
The Northern Bear looks on no uglier crew;
Bare is their garb, their bodies foul to view.
Their souls are ne'er subdued to steady toil,
Or Cere's webs. Their sustenance is spoil.
With horried wounds they gast their brutal brows
And o'ver their murdered parents bind their vows."

The Huns after the death of Attila.

On the death of Attila in 453, his Hunnic empire fell into pieces. His sons quarrelled among themselves. Ardaric, the King of the Gapidæ, rose in revolt against Attila's sons. In a battle near the river Netad in Pannonia, 30,000 Huns and their confederates were killed, among whom also was Ellak, the eldest son of Attila. The Huns were broken as a nation and they dispersed. Some of their hordes began to live under the Romans in modern Servia and Bulgaria. The main part of the Huns returned to, and lived in, the plains of the river Ural, which were their home till about a century ago. About thirty years after this, their two tribes—the Kulurguri and Utarguri, reappeared under the name of Bulgari. They again invaded the Eastern Empire of the Romans and continued harassing it for 72 years (485-557). The Avars, who were, up to now, a tribe under them, got ascendency over them for some time. But the Huns under Krobat or Kubrat again regained their independence in 630, made a treaty with Emperor Heraclius. On the death of Krobat, his dominions were divided among his five sons. The Huns under the first son, Batbaias, remained in their own country, but those under the third son, Asperuch, crossed the Danube. The Huns under Batbaias afterwards came into contact with the Khazars on the river Volga. Their dominion was then known as the Great Bulgaria, whose people were spoken of as the Danubian or White Bulgarians. Thus, according to this account, the Bulgarians were the descendants of the Western Huns.

In or about the 5th century after Christ, the Huns began to lose or lost their original name of Hiong-nou or Huns. One of their hordes or tribes, which was known as the Turks becoming very powerful, gave its name to the whole Hun nation. So, the Huns began then to be known among the neighbouring nations by the name of Turks. Later on, when Chengiz Khan, the chief of the horde or tribe of the Mongols or Moguls became very powerful, his tribe gave its name to the whole nation. The whole Tartar nation then began to be spoken of as the Mongols or Moguls. Just as one and the same river receives different names in the different parts of the country, through which it runs from its source to its mouth, so, the one and the same nation, the Hiong-nou or Huns received different names during its progress from the time of its origin up to now, and from its original home to different countries. The horde or the tribe of the Turks who gave its name to the Huns later on, was called Tou-Kioue by the Chinese and Turks by the other adjoining nations.

Huns began to be known as Turks, and, later on, as Mongols or Moguls.

The German confideration of groups before the invasion of the Huns, and the effect of the invasion upon the confideration.

Their wars with the Romans had taught the Germans, that it was to their advantage, that the different tribes should unite into groups. So, before Attila's invasion, the numerous German tribes had united into the following four :—

1. The Allemanni, meaning *all men.* They were so called, because their custom was to hold land in common among *all men.* This tribe had given its French name Allmagne to Germany. They lived in the south of Germany, in German Switzerland, the Black Forest and near the lake Constance.

2. The Franks, who gave their name to France, and who have given us the name Firangi for all Europeans, because the Franks, the French, were the first Europeans to come into contact with the Mahomedans (Saracens, Arabs) in the Crusades. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to India. So, the Indian Mogul (Mahomedan) rulers, taking them to be like the Franks, called them Firangis. After the Moguls and following them, other Mahomedans, and following them, all the Indians called all Europeans, Firangis.

3. The Saxons, who lived in North Germany and who gave to the ancient Englishmen the name of Anglo-Saxons.

4. The Goths, who were divided into the Eastern Goths (Ostrogoths) and the Western Goths (Visigoths). They were the

most cultured of all the Germans and were first converted to Christianity by Ulphilas who translated the Bible for them into Gothic. They lived on the banks of the Dneiper. They had formed a great Kingdom in the 4th century A.D. extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea. They included the Vandals and the Burgundians.

The invasion of the Huns dispersed these Germans. According to Mr. Gould[1], the invasion was like that of a wasp in a beehive when all the bees immediately disperse. After the invasion of the Huns, the German groups or confideracies left their countries and began to disperse. The Huns, crossing the Volga for the first time in 375, invaded that part of Germany where lived the Goths. The Ostrogoths, being unable to stand against them, crossed the Danube and entered into the dominions of the Roman Empire, asking for protection. They stayed there, and, after a time, led by their King Theodoric conquered Italy. The Visigoths or Western Goths, not being able to stand against the Huns, ran towards Southern Gaul and made Tolouse their centre. They, under their King Alaric, at one time, took Rome. The Vandals and the Suevi ran towards Spain and from thence went to Africa, forming Carthage as their centre. The Suevi being driven by the Huns, also occupied modern Portugal. The Angles and the Saxons crossed over to Britain in 449 and conquered it. The Lengobards or Lombards descended into North Italy. The Burgundians descended into the country between the Rhone and the Saone and founded the Burgundian Kingdom. The cold German soil of North Germany being deserted by the Germans, it was latterly occupied by the Sclavs who came from the North-East and who occupied Ponerina and Molenburg.

The whole of the dispersion of the German tribes was not bad in itself. Some tribes or groups became very powerful. Among such were the Franks, who, at times, fought on behalf of the Romans against the German tribe of Allemanni and against the Western Goths. They established a good strong kingdom and their kings established their authority in a better way.

The final result. Some German tribes disappeared.

The final result of the dispersion of the Germans was this: Some of them, escaping into adjoining countries more civilized than theirs, took up their habits and customs. They gradually disappeared as German tribes and were absorbed among the people among whom they lived. Thus, the old German tribes of the Vandals, Burgundians, Goths and Lombards disappeared. The Franks going into Gaul gave

[1] The story of the Nations. Germany, p. 29.

it the name of France and ceased to be Germans. The Franks were the most important of the groups. Thus the final result of the invasion and depredations of the Huns was this: Those German tribes, which left the country on being driven away by the Huns, were, later on, gradually absorbed into the people of the other countries where they went. They gradually acquired new languages and even new customs. They gradually disappeared as German tribes.

We will conclude our account of the wars of the Huns with the Romans with accounts given by two well-known Arab writers, Maçoudi and Tabari, who refer to the Romans.

Maçoudi's references to the Turks (Huns) who invaded Rome and the adjoining countries.

According to Maçoudi, near the territories of the Khazars and the Alans near the Caucasus, in the direction of the west, there inhabited in about 932 A.D., four Turkish tribes which had come down from the same stock. Some led the life of nomads, and some led a sedantary life. Each of these tribes was powerful, was ruled by a chief, and had its country at the distance of several days' march from that of another. The country of one of them extended up to the Black Sea (la mer Nitas). They carried their excursions up to the country of the Romans and even up to Spain.[1] These four tribes were the following :—

1. The Yadjni (يجنى)
2. The Bedjgards. (بجغرد)
3. The Bedjnâks. (بجناك)
4. The Nowkardehs. (نوكردة)

In about Hijri 320 (932 A.D.), or a little after, they fought with the Romans. There was a Greek city named Walendar (ولندر), which, being on a site between the mountains and the sea, was very difficult of access. It came in the way of their excursions upon the territories of the Romans. When the four tribes were quarrelling among themselves about a certain Mahomedan merchant, a native of Ardebil, who, belonging to one of the tribes, was maltreated by another tribe, the Greek garrison of Walendar, taking advantage of the internal quarrels, attacked their country, and carried away their women and cattle. The Turcs, thereupon, united, and with an army of 60,000 horsemen invaded the country of their common enemies, the Romans (Hijri 332 A. D. 944). Armanus was then the King of Rome (ارمنوس ملك الروم) (Romanus I. the Emperor of the East,

[1] Macoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II., p. 58, *et seq.* Chapter XVII.

919-944 A. D.). He sent to the help of his subjects of Walendar, an army made up of 12,000 cavalry-men, raised from the newly converted Christians of the district and 50,000 Romans. After a long and heavy fight, the Turks were successful and they marched against Constantinople. They then marched successfully towards France and Spain. The route followed by the armies of these Turcs served, later on, as roads of communication with Constantinople.

Maçoudi on the physical constitution of the Huns known as the Turks.

According to Maçoudi, "they have pliant articulation, curved legs and a bony frame-work, so soft, that they can draw the bow above their shoulders by turning themselves; and thanks to the softness of the vertebra of their back, their body appears to be entirely turned back. . . . . Under the action of rigorous cold, the heat carries itself and concentrates in the superior part of their body—this is what gives a strongly coloured taint".[1] "The Turcs are fat and soft. Their character offers much analogy to that of women. Thanks to their cold temperament and to the humid principles which prevail in them, they show little aptitude for cohabitation and have consequently a small number of children. Again, continuous horse-exercise weakens amorous desires among them. Among the women, plumpness and humidity prevent the absorption of the seed from the organs of generation. It is the cold which gives to their race a reddish taint . . . . because the effect of persistent cold is to colour red what is white."

Tabari.

According to Tabari, in the time of the Roman Emperor Elianus (Julien), some tribes of the Huns, known as Khazars, and their territories were under the sway of the Romans. When this Emperor invaded Persia, ruled over by Shapour Zulaktâf, the Khazars, together with the Arabs, formed a part of his army. After some desultory fight, Julien was killed by an arrow from the Persian army and was succeeded by Jovianus who soon concluded peace.

VI.

III. Their relations with the Persian Empire.

Their Inroads in Asia.

We saw above, that the Huns had, at first, their home in the steppes of Central Asia. They moved eastward towards China. They moved westward and divided themselves into two branches, one towards the valley of the Oxus and the other to that of the Volga. The

[1] I give my translation, *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

division, which went towards the valley of the Volga, invaded, in about 375 A.D., Eastern Europe and drove before them the Goths (who also were an offshoot of some early Hun stock), who thus driven, invaded the dominions of the Roman emperors, fighting with them, in what is known as the Gothic War, in which Emperor Valens lost his life in 378 A.D. The Huns, with Attila at their head, harassed the Roman Empire, both, the Western at Ravenna and the Eastern at Constantinople. Attila died in 453 A.D. His Hunnic Empire was broken by another branch of their original stock in the North. The invasion and ravages of this Hunnic division in Europe were quick in their result, and did not continue long; but in the case of the inroads of the other division, that in Asia itself, they were slow and lasted long.

The branches or offshoots of the division which had moved to the valley of the Oxus were known under different names. Those, who invaded Persia, were known as Ephthalites or White Huns. Firoz, the grandfather of Noshirwan, was killed in fighting with them (484 A.D.). The frontier kingdoms of India like Kabul and the adjoining territories were then governed by the Kushans. The Huns attacked them and occupied these territories. They then invaded India proper. This was at the time when the Gupta King Skandagupta was reigning. We now come to this part of their history. We will first speak of their relations with Persia.

Among the above-named four great kingdoms, Persia was one, with whom the Huns had frequent quarrels and fights. Under their different names of Huns, Turks, Haetalites, Khazars, &c., they were in frequent wars, one may say in continuous wars, with the Persians. The reason is simple, *viz.*, their co-terminous boundaries. In a certain way, the war between these two countries may be said to be, not only boundary-wars, but also blood-wars. I have spoken, at some length, elsewhere on their relations with the very early Persians on the authority of the Avesta and Pahlavi books.[1] According to the ancient Iranian tradition, the founders of both, the Iranian and the Turanian kingdoms, were brothers. Jealousy and rivalry led to fight and murder, which now and then continued. The history of Persia of the very early dynasties, the Peshâdâdians and the Kayânians—of times preceding those of what may be termed authentic history,—was the history of the war of Iran with Turan, the latter being the cradle of the early Huns. The history of the Achæmenian times was mostly the history of Iran's war with the Greeks. But the Achæmenians had also to fight with the Huns. The Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus fought, and the Sakas or

[1] Dr. Sir Ramcrishna G. Bhandarkar's Memorial Volume.

Scythians, against whom Darius fought, were Hunnic tribes. The history of the Parthians and the Sassanians was the history of Iran's wars with the Romans. But, these last two periods also were interspersed with frequent wars with the Huns or Turks.

The Pahlavi Bundehesh and Maçoudi on the origin of the Huns, known latterly as Turks.

Maçoudi, with some difference, derives the origin of the Turks from the same source as the Pahlavi Bundehesh. He says, that one Turk was the ancestor of all the Turks (Ce Turk, qui est le pere de tous les Turks).[1] He gives as follows the genealogy of Firasiâb, the Frâsiâv of the Pahlavi Bundehesh, the Afrâsiâb of Firdousi: Firasiab-Bouchenk (the Pashang of the Bundehesh)-Nabet-Nachmir (the Zaeshm of the Bundehesh)—Turk-Yaceb (the Spaenyash of the Bundehesh)—Tour (the Tuj or Tur of the Bundehesh.)—Aferidoun (the Fredun of the Bundehesh.) Maçoudi places the country of the Turks together with that of the Khazars, Dilemians and the Slavs in the sixth clime between Syria, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia on the one hand, and China on the other[2]. One of the tribes of the Turks being the Khazars, who lived on the shores of the Caspian, the Caspian sea was called Behr-al Khazer, *i.e.*, the sea of the Khazars[3].

The Tagazgez (طغزغز) with whom Zadsparam, the brother of Manuscheher, the author of the Pahlavi Nâmakihâ-i-Mânuschihar[4] seems to have come into contact, and from whom he had taken some heretical views,[5] formed the bravest, most powerful and the best governed tribe, (la plus valeureuse, la plus puissante et la mieux gouvernée) of the Turks.[6] These Tagazgez latterly adopted Manichæsm[7].

The chief ruler of these Turks was known as the Khakân of the Khakâns (خاقان الخواقان)[8]. They formed an empire and ruled over all smaller kings of the various tribes or divisions. Afrasiab

[1] Maçoudi, Tradiut par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 131.

[2] *Ibid*, Chapter VIII, Vol. I., p. 182.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 263.

[4] *Vide* Ervad Bomanji N. Dhabhar's edition of the Text (1912).

[5] *Vide* my Paper on "References to China in the ancient books of the Parsees," read before the International Congress held at Hanoi in December 1902.—(Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, pp. 525-536). *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Pt. I, pp. 251-252.

[6] Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. I, p. 288

[7] *Ibid*, pp. 299-300.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 288.

himself, the above referred to inveterate enemy of the Irânians, has been considered to be one of such Khâkâns.

The Huns and the Sassanians.

An account of the relations of the Huns with the Sassanian Persians is somewhat important from the point of view of the history of India. The Hunnic invasion of India, had, as we will see later on, some connection with the relations and wars of the Huns with the Sassanian Persians. These Hunnic-Persian, or to speak more particularly Hætalite-Sassanian wars lasted for about 100 years.[1]

We have, as it were, a labyrinth of various versions or accounts of the wars of the Sassanians with the Huns. On the one hand, we have Eastern writers like Firdousi, Maçoudi, Tabari, and Aboulfeda, who differ among themselves. On the other hand, we have a number of Byzantine writers, who also differ among themselves in the matter of the details of these wars. We find excellent epitomes of the versions of these Western writers in the History of M. Deguignes and in the recent Mémoire of M. Drouin. Among the Sassanian kings, Kobad is one, for whose wars with the Huns we have the most different versions. As M. Deguignes says, the Huns had very long wars with Kobad of which the details are not known[2].

The Huns' Inroads into Persia.

The second stock of the ancient Huns, when stopped in China, had remained temporarily settled in Central Asia at places like Aksu, Kashgar, &c. The ancient Huns, who had knocked at the gates of China, had also knocked at the gates of Persia. The history of Persia of the Peshdadian and Kianian times was, as said above, the history of the wars of the Iranians with the Turanians, the ancestors of the early Huns. The Avesta and the Pahlavi books of the Parsees speak of them. I will not speak of these here. In later times also, in the times of the Achæmenians and the Parthians, they had frequent wars with the Persians. I will not speak here of these wars also. But I will speak of their wars during the Sassanian times, because it was at this time that the Huns came into more prominence both in Asia and in Europe. It was during these times that they made their presence and their force felt to the Roman, Persian and Indian Empires. They were the descendants of the above second branch who had temporarily settled in Central Asia.

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[1] The late M. E. Drouin speaks of them as Ephthalites, and gives us an excellent paper on the subject, under the title of "Memoire Sur les Huns Ephthalites dans leur Rapports avec les Rois Perse Sassanides." (Extrait du Museon, 1895).

[2] Histoire des Huns, T. I., P. II, p. 332.

The origin of the different names under which they came into contact with the Persians.

At the time when the black or sun-burnt Huns of the North were devastating the countries of Europe, the Huns of the above other Hunnic branch, known generally as the white Huns, were committing inroads into Persia. They were known under different names, such as Euthalites, Ephthalites, Haitalites, Nephthalites, Atelites, Abtelites, Cidarites. Oriental writers speak of them generally as Turcs. The Huns, who, as said above, had settled at Kashgar and Aksu, and had, thence, spread towards the Caspian and the frontiers of Persia, were called Te-le or Til-le. As they lived on the waters (âb آب) *i.e.*, the shores of the Oxus, they were called Ab-tele. The name Abtelite in the above list of their names comes from this origin. It is the corruption of this name 'Abtelites,' that has given the people their other names such as Euthalites and Nephthalites.[1] It is this last corrupted name Nephthalite, that has led some to believe that they were the descendants of the Jews of the Nephthali tribe. According to Tabari, the word Haitalite comes from the word 'Haital,' which in the Bokharian language, means "a strong man."[2]

The different Sassanian monarchs with whom the Huns came into contact. Behramgour, 420–438.

The Persians fought with the Huns during the reigns of the following Sassanian monarchs :—

1. Behramgour (Behram V) 420-438 A. D.
2. Yazdagard II, 438-457.
3. Hormuzd (Hormazd III), 457.
4. Pirouze, 457-484.
5. Balâsh, 484-488.
6. Kobâd, 488-497 (Kobad dethroned).
7. Jâmâsp, 497-499.
8. Kobâd (restored to throne), 499-531.
9. Naushirwan the just (Chosroe I), 531-579.

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We will speak of the relations and wars of the Huns with these Sassanian kings.

According to Firdousi, Behramgour was a very brave king, but he was of a 'jolly good fellow' type. Reports having spread round about, that he was an easy going man, the Khakân of Chin thought of

[1] Histoire des Huns, by M. Deguignes, Tome I, Partie II, pp. 325-26.
[2] Tabari par Zotenberg II., p. 128.

taking the opportunity of the Persian king's easy going life to invade his dominions. The people, whose leader is spoken of as the Khakân of Chin, were Hætalites or, Epthalites, otherwise known as the White Huns. Behram's courtiers grew restless over the news, but he assured them to depend upon God for the safety of the country. He apparently seemed to take the matter lightly, but really was anxious about it. He appointed his brother Narsi to rule for him and to remain at the capital, and marched with a large army to a direction other than that from which the enemy was coming. His people thought, that he shirked the coming war, but it seems, that his object was to entice the enemy to advance further and then to fall upon him in an unexpected way. Behramgour first went to the great Iranian Fire-temple of Adargoushp in Azarâbâdgân and prayed for victory. The king could not disclose all his plans ; so, the courtiers in spite of the remonstrances of Narsi, sent one Homai (همای) as an envoy to the camp of the coming invader and offering a tribute sued for peace. The Khakan accepted their offer and promised not to advance further than Merv. He asked the envoy to meet him at Merv with the offered presents and tribute. He then advanced upto Merv where he waited for the offered presents and tribute. Behramgour was all along kept informed by his spies of what was happening and of the movements of the Khakan. By an unfrequented road, he secretly marched towards Merv and fell upon the Khakan and his army. A great battle was fought at Kashmihan (کشمیهن) near Merv. The Khakan was defeated and fell a prisoner in the hand of Khazravân (خزروان), a general of Behram. Behram then invaded the territories of the Turcs (Haitalites), who all submitted to him and offered to give tributes. He then ordered a stone column to be built on the frontiers to mark the spot[1] which no Turk or Khalaj[2] may cross and enter into the land of Irân[3]. The Jehun or the Oxus was fixed as

[1] M. Deguignes names the place as Pherbar, but does not give his authority (Histoire des Huns, T. I. P. II, p. 327).

[2] The modern Khiljis of Afghanistan are believed to be these Khalaj.

[3]
بر آورد میلی ز سنگی و ز گچ
که کس را ز ایران ز ترک و خلج
نبودی گزر جز بفرمان شاه
هما نیز جیهون میانجی براه

(Firdousi. Mecan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III, p. 1546.)

the boundary between these countries. He appointed one Shohreh[1], in command of the frontier district. It appears that the long circuitous way which Behramgour had taken was purposely intended by him as a ruse to take the Huns by surprise and to give them a crushing blow.[2]

The religion of the Huns, at least in early times, was, Mazdayaçnian and if not purely Zoroastrian, somewhat akin to Zoroastrian. At least, there lived many Zoroastrians in their country. A statement of Firdousi, in connection with this victory of Behramgour over the Haetalites, seems to show this. He says, that in the Haetalite centres like Chagan, Khatal, Balakh, Bokhara and Gurzastân[3], there lived Mobads who went to fire-temples and prayed there with Bâz and Barsam.[4]

Behramgour then went to the great fire-temple of Âdargushasp in Âzarâbâdgân and offered thanks to the Almighty for his victory. He presented to the temple, for its decoration, the jewels of the crown of the Khakan which he had taken with him. According to Tabari,[5] in his war with the Huns, Behram had also taken prisoner the wife of the Khakan, the great Khatun. He took her as a state prisoner to the above great fire-temple and made her serve the temple.[6] This fact of sending a Hun lady to serve in a Fire-temple also shows that some Huns were Mazdayaçnâns. This great victory in the battle of Kashmihan had far-reaching effects in Central Asia. The various chiefs and rulers sought the friendship of the king of Iran, and the spread of Sassanian coins in Central Asia is believed to be the result. Behramgour's coins seem to have served as a type for the coinage of some surrounding people, even of India. That also seems to be the result of this great victory.

According to Firdousi, Behram, some time after this, came to India and married Sepinud, the daughter of the king of Kanouj. The

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[1] شهر ۷ Some MSS. give the name as Shamr.

[2] M. Deguignes, Histoire des Huns, T. I. P. II, p. 328.

[3] Some MSS. have the name as Gharchakân,

[4] Mecan's Ed. Vol. III, p. 1548. چغانی و ختلی و بلخی ردان
بخاری و از غرچکان موبدان
برفتند با باژو و برسم بدست
نیاش کنان پیش آتش پرست

[5] Tabari par Zotenberg, Vol. II, p. 121.

آن خاتون که زن خاقان بود بخدمت آتشکده کردن فرستاد

(Munshi Naval Kishore's Text of 1874, p. 301.)

name of the Indian king, as given by Firdousi, is Shangal (شنگول)[1] and as given by Maçoudi is Shabarmeh[2] (شبرمه). M. Drouin thinks that they do not sound as Hindu names.[3] I think, the first name is a Hindu name corresponding to the modern name Shankar, a form of which we see in Shankarâchârya. It is more the name of a family than of an individual king. According to Firdousi, Behram on his return to Persia took his Indian queen to the great fire-temple of Adargushasp[4] and got her admitted into the fold of Zoroastrianism. M. Drouin thinks that these events, *viz.*, Behram's visit to India, and his marriage with the Indian Princess Sepihnoud, are no poetical fancies of Firdousi, but real facts. The Persian kings had, ere this, commenced to have closer relations with India. Hormuzd II (A.D. 305) had come to Kaboul and had married a daughter of its Kushan (Yuetchi) king. A copper coin of this king bears the figure of Siva with the Nandi symbols. This coin then illustrates Persia's closer relations with India.

According to Firdousi, Behramgour sent for 10,000 singers, male and female, of the class of Luri (لوریان)[5] and distributed them in Persia to provide Indian music to his people who asked for it. It is these Luris, who seem to have given to Persia, Western Asia and Europe, the various classes of singing gypsies. It is said, that the use of Pahlavi alphabet for writing purposes in the country of the Haetalites began after this time of the victory of Behramgour. The Armenian alphabet had gone in there before this time, in the times of the Parthians.

Yazdagard II (438-457) and the Huns.

Behramgour was succeeded by his son Yazdagard, known familiarly as the Sipah-dost, *i.e.*, the friend of the soldiers. He was also spoken of as Kadi, *i.e.*, the great. On his coins, he is spoken of as Kadi Yazdagardi or Mazdayaçna Kadi Yazdagardi. Firdousi, Tabari and Maçoudi, while speaking of this king's reign, do not refer to his wars with the Haetalites. It is the Armenian writers, who give us a glimpse of these wars.[6] He carried invasions over the country of the Ephthalite or Haetalite Huns, spoken of as the country of the Kushans, every year from 442 to 450. The king issues a proclamation and appeals to his subjects.—Ariks and Anariks (*i.e.*, Iranian and un-Iranian)—to

[1] Mecan's Ed. III, p. 1558.

[2] Macoudi, traduit par B. de Meynard II, p. 191.

[3] Aucun de ces noms n'a une tournure Sanscrite. Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites (1895), p. 28, n. 2.

Adar Gushasp is one of the great Fire-temples, which are still mentioned by the Parsees in their Atash nyaish. For its History, *vide* my Iranian Essays, Part I.

[5] Mecan's Text, Vol III, p. 1585.

[6] M. Drouin's Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites (1895), p. 30.

unite and help him against the Huns. Even his Christian subjects in Armenia helped him in these wars against the Huns or Kushans. He carried his invasions over their country for seven successive years but without effect. He succeeded a little in 450 A. D., and taking a part of their territories, founded therein a city and named it Shehrastân-i-Yazdagard, *i.e.*, the city of Yazdgard. Yazdagard, flushed at this victory, aimed at Zoroastrianising Armenia. But, it is said that Kushan, the country of the Haetalite Huns, once being opened to other people, opened also to Christianity.

The Haetalite Huns were off and on carrying on their depredations in Persia. So, Yazdagard carried another invasion in 454 A. D., but, falling in an ambuscade had to beat a sudden retreat. He died in 457 A.D., leaving two sons, Hormuz and Phirouz, by his queen Dinaki. The name of this queen has recently come into light by means of an intaglio or a cut gem discovered in 1868 by a Russian savant M. Boutkowski. M. Dorn, in 1881, discovered the name from a Pahlavi inscription on it.[1]

Hormuzd III 457 A. D. and the Huns.

Firouz was, according to Firdousi, the elder son of Yazdagard. But Yazdagard, had, from his dying bed, declared his son Hormuzd as his successor. Firouz was at the time of his father's death at Seistan. So, Hormuzd, being on the spot, easily occupied the throne. This brought in a civil war. Firouz asked for help from the Haetalite king, whom Firdousi calls Shah Haital (شاہ ہیتال)[2] Firdousi calls him Chagâni Shahi (چغانی شہی)[3] and gives his name as Faganish (فغانیش).[4] I think, that, as we will see later on, it was this Hunnic king or a prince of his clan or tribe, who is known in Indian inscriptions as Toramana the Shahi.

This Haetalite king offered to help Firouz to gain his father's throne, on condition, that he (Firouz) surrendered to him the countries of Tarmud (ترمذ) and Visehga (ویسہ گرد).[5] Firouz accepted that condition, and with the help of this Hunnic king Faganish, defeated his brother Hormuzd and won the throne of Persia. According to

[1] M. Drouin's Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites, p. 32, n. 3.

[2] Mecan's Calcutta ed. Vol III, p. 1589. M. Mohl's small ed. Translation, Vol. VI, p. 68.

[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

[5] The name of this town seems to have some connection with the Vaêsaka clan of the Huns (Hûnavo Vasaêkaya), who according to the Âbân Yasht (Yt. V. 54) were, as it were, the hereditary Hunnic foes of the Iranians (*Vide* my paper on the Iranian Huns in the Bhandarkar Memorial Volume.)

Firdousi[1] and Mirkhond,[2] Firouz pardoned his brother, but, according to Aboulfeda[3] he was imprisoned, and according to Tabari,[4] he was killed. According to this last author, the Hunnic king, at first, kept Firouz at his Court, giving him the command over the country of Talekan, and sent him to Persia later on, when the people there appealed to Firouz to relieve them from the oppression of Hormuzd.

M. Deguignes[5] and M. Drouin[6] name this Hunnic king as Khushnawâz. They seem to follow Tabari, but, I think Tabari[7] is wrong and Firdousi's version is correct. Firdousi, later on, speaks of a Hunnic king Khushnawâz as fighting with Firouz, and says, that he was the son of Khâkân[8] (فرزند خاکان).[9] By 'Khakan' perhaps, he meant, as said by Drouin,[10] the Khakan previously referred to, *viz.*, Faghanish. I think Faghanish the Khakan, who first aided Firouz, and of whom he specially speaks as the Shâhi and Chaghani, must have gone to India to make an inroad there. I think, he is the Toramana of the Indian inscription. But more of this later on.

Firouz, (457—484) and the Huns.

In the matter of the wars of the Huns with the Sassanian kings, we find a great difference, not only in the statements of Western and Eastern writers, but also between the statements of different Oriental writers like Firdousi, Tabari, Maçoudi, &c. This difference is especially very great in the case of the reign of Firouz. One cannot even say with certainty, whether this Sassanian king had only one war with the Hunnic king or more than one; and, if the latter, whether it was with the same Hunnic tribe or different tribes. However, we will try to string up the various statements.

His Famine policy.

An year after Firouz's accession to the throne, Persia was visited by a great famine which lasted for seven years. Firouz helped his people with grain and did his best to prevent mortality, both among men and cattle. He threatened with loss of life, those, who thought of

1 Mecan's Text III, p. 1589.
2 M. Drouin's Memoire sur les Huns, p. 33.
3 *Ibid.*
4 Tabari par Zotenberg II, p. 128.
5 Histoire des Huns. T. I., P. II, p. 328.
6 Memoire sur les Huns, p. 32.
7 Tabari par Zotenberg II, p. 127.
8 Mohl. Vol. VI, p. 74.
9 Mecan's Text III, p. 1592.
10 Memoire sur les Huns, p. 33.

taking an undue advantage over the poor. He wrote to the heads of all villages: "Give food to the poor. Do not remove them from one village to another. If in any village any single poor man will die for want of food I will put to death one rich man for that."[1] Firouz remitted all land collections. He sent for grain from the countries of the Roman Empire, India, Turkestan and Abyssinia. Tabari says, that owing to an extraordinary care on the part of the king, only one person died of hunger during all the seven years of the famine, and the king, in order to atone as it were for this one death, distributed 100,000 dinars among the poor. He appointed a day for general public prayers to the Almighty for the relief of the distress. When the famine ended and plenty began to return, he commemorated that event by founding a new city which he named Firouzrâm. Firouz's famine administration, as described by Firdousi and Tabari, would do credit to any modern king.

Firouz's defeat. The Hunnic king's marriage with a Persian lady.

According to Prisus, a Roman writer, Firouz, after defeating his brother Hormuzd and winning the Persian throne with the help of the Hunnic king (Faganish, according to Firdousi), seems to have made a treaty with the Hunnic king. Therein, he agreed to give his sister in marriage to a Hunnic prince, who is named Coucha[2] (or Koukhas),[3] and whom M. Drouin identifies with Khoushnavâz.[4] But Firouz did not act according to the agreement, because, perhaps, as said by M. Deguignes, he was ashamed, that his royal sister should marry a Hunnic king. It is said, that Firouz got another Persian lady dressed as a royal queen and passed her off as his sister before the Hunnic king. But this pretended princess, afraid lest the fraud may be known and she be put to death, gently divulged the secret to the Hunnic king, who, though displeased with the fraudulent ruse of Firouz, was pleased with the loyalty and sincerity of the Persian lady, and so, in recognition of that, married her and made her his queen. The Hunnic king then thought of revenging himself upon the Persian king. He asked him to send him 300 of his best Persian soldiers to train his Hunnic army. Firouz sent them. The Hunnic king killed some and mutilated others. The latter were then sent to the Persian king. It is worth noting in this connection, that the Huns of this Hunnic king are spoken of as Kidarites[5]. These events brought about a breach of peace, and war was declared in which the Persians were successful. According to some writers, the

[1] Tabari par Zotenberg II, p. 128.

[2] Histoire des Huns by M. Deguignes T. I., Partie II, p. 328.

[3] Mémoire sur les Huns, by M. Drouin, p. 34.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Drouin, Mémoire sur les Huns, p. 34. M. Drouin thinks that these Kidarites were a Hunnic tribe, different from the Ephthalites (*Ibid*, p 35, n. 2.)

Hunnic king had asked the hand of a daughter of Firouz in marriage. This being refused, the refusal served as a cause of war.

The Hunnic king demands prostration from Firouz.

It is said, that in this war, Firouz asked the help of Emperor Leon I, but was refused. Leon only sent an ambassador, named Constantius, to the court of Firouz. In the war that ensued, Firouz was entrapped in a defile from which there was no escape and he had to surrender. It is said, that the Hunnic king offered to set him free on condition that he prostrated before him, and swore, that he would not invade his territories again. Firouz's Zoroastrian Mobads being consulted, said, that a Zoroastrian king could prostrate before none but the sun. To meet the difficulty, it was arranged, that the Hunnic king may be asked to receive the prostration, the next morning with the rise of the sun. Accordingly, the next morning, when the sun rose, Firouz prostrated before the king, but giving the prostration, at least in his mind and in the mind of his Persians, a look of a prostration before the sun.

There is another version, which is based on that of Joshu the Sliglite, a Syrian monk-historian, who lived in the beginning of the 6th Century, and who is known as a good historian of the war between the Sassanian king Kobad and the Byzantine Emperor Anastalius (502-506). According to this version, the Hunnic king made peace on condition that Firouz paid 10 mule loads of ecus.[1] Firouz could pay then only two-thirds, and so, his son Kobad was kept as a hostage.[2] Firouz, later on, paid the balance and Kobad was set free.

A Hunnic officer's ruse for victory over Firouz.

According to Tabari, a Hunnic officer had once to resort to a ruse[3] to secure victory for his master. It is not clear in which of the several wars that Firouz fought with the Huns this patriotic ruse was resorted to. The ruse described by Tabari was this : When Khushnavâz had to retire before the large Persian army, then a devoted patriotic chief officer of his court came to his help and saved him by means of a stratagem. Taking Khoushnavâz into his confidence, he got some of his limbs cut off. Thus mutilated, he got himself placed in a position, where he could be seen by the Persians. Some Persians, passing by the place saw him, had compassion upon him, and took him to Firouz who inquired after his case. The Haetalite chief said, that as he had remonstrated with Khoushnavâz for his tyrannical government and for his war against the Persians, he was thus mutilated for his liberty of speech and freedom of views. He then offered to lead

[1] An ecuis about half a crown. [2] Drouin's Mémoire sur les Huns, p. 35.

[3] We read in Herodotus of a similar ruse during the seige of Babylon by Darius (Bk. III. 150-160).

the Persian army by a particular route against the Haetalites, whereby he could be sure of victory. Firouz was deceived and was led into a trap, where he was surrounded and defeated by the Hunnic army.

A Boundary column.

According to Tabari, the Hunnic king got a great stone column erected to mark the boundary of his country. So grand was the structure that it took six months to erect it. It was made out of one stone. It was then covered over with metal. Firouz was made to swear before it that he would never cross it and invade Hunnic territories. Tabari, after describing the erection of this column at some length, says, that according to some, it was built by Behramgour. I think this latter version is correct and Tabari's previous version does not seem to be probable. The very life-history of the Huns makes it improbable, that they should bind themselves to a particular boundary. Firouz was burning with revenge for the humilation, he was put to by then Hunnic king in the previous war, and he sought for an opportunity to invade the Hunnic country again. It is said that the Hunnic king became a little oppressive and his oppression drove some of his people to seek the protection and help of Firouz. He accorded these. Firouz ordered an invasion of the Hunnic country ruled over by Khoushnavâz. His son Kobad accompanied him in the invasion. His other son Palâs was left at the capital to rule as a regent. According to Tabari, the cause of the war was the oppression of Khoushnavâz over his people. He was a man of unnatural lust.

As said above, Behramgour had raised a column on the frontiers to mark the boundary between his country and that of the Turanian Hunnic king. According to some, it was the Hunnic king who had raised it. The latter protested against Firouz crossing the boundary. Firouz, according to Tabari, retorted[1]: "I have obligation towards thee, but I have greater obligations towards God." He said: "a number of your Haetalites, tired of your oppression, have entered into my Persian territories and have appealed to me for help." It is said, that, to avoid the apparent guilt of crossing the above boundary stone, Firouz resorted to a ruse. He ordered the column to be brought down and placed it on a large chariot drawn by a number of elephants. He then let the chariot always proceed in the front and he marched behind it with his army.

In the war that ensued, the Hunnic king Khoushnavaz prepared extensive deep trenches and covered them with grass and dry rubbish, and then, under the pretext of retreat, drew the Persian army over the

[1] Tabari par Zotenberg II, p. 131.

trenches. Firouz and a number of his army fell in them. In the battle that ensued, Firouz was completely defeated and killed. His daughter Firouzdokht was taken prisoner. According to some, even his son Kobad was taken prisoner. Some say that the Hunnic king married Firouzdokht. Others say, that the Hunnic king sent her away to Persia with all due honours. Thus ended the war or wars of Firouz with the Haetalite or Euphthalite Huns.

Balash (or Palash 484—488 A.D.) and the Huns.

On the death of Firouz, the Persian nobles wanted to give the throne to his minister Sufrai, but he refused, and Balâsh, the Valens of the Western writers, a son of Firouz, was given the throne. Sufrai was a Persian minister in whose charge Firouz had left the country when he went to fight against the Haetalites. When he heard of the death of his Royal master being killed in the war with the Haetalites, he declared war with them and gave them a partial defeat, but soon concluded peace, on condition that Khushnavaz was to set at liberty Kobad, the son of Firouz, and Ardeshir, a minister of Firouz, who were taken prisoners in the final war when Firouz was killed. Khousnawaz set Kobâd and Ardeshir free. According to a Western writer, Lazarus of Pharbia, Zareh, a brother of Balâsh, had raised a revolt to gain the throne, but it was suppressed and he was put to death[1]. But this is doubtful. Some writers do not speak of Kobâd having been a prisoner in the hands of the Hunnic king.

Kobâd sought the aid of the Hunnic king to depose Balâsh and gain the Persian throne for himself. Khushnavaz promised him help but did not soon fulfil the promise. When help was actually given and he marched with the help of the Hunnic army to Ctesiphon,[2] the capital of the Persian empire, he heard on the way, that Balâsh was dethroned by the Persian Mobads. The reason for this dethronement, as given by Josua, the Stylite,[3] was, that he introduced into Persia, the customs and manners of the Byzantine emperors. Among these, one was that of the institution of public baths. It seems, that these public baths were places where large reservoirs or tanks were built in which all people dipped. This was held to be insanitary, and so, sinful from the point of view of the Iranians, who held water in reverence and enjoined, that it should not be so spoilt as to do harm to those who used it. If an unhealthy or infected man dipped into the reservoir of a public bath, the water, that was spoilt and contaminated, was likely to do harm

[1] Drouin's Memoire, p. 40.

[2] According to Hamazah, this town was, at first, named طوسفون, I think, it was named after Tug of Sifkâna. *Vide* my text and translation of the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i-Airân, pp. 72-73.

[3] Drouin's Mémoire sur les Huns, p. 41, n. 2.

to subsequent bathers or swimmers. According to the Pahlavi Ardâi Viraf Nameh[1], this was sinful.

Kobad (488-497), Jamâsp (497-499), Kobad (499-531), and the Huns.

There are different versions about the relations between Balâsh and Kobâd. Some writers say, that Balâsh voluntarily resigned in favour of Kobâd. Others say that Balâsh's natural death paved Kobâd's way to the throne. Others related, as said above, that he was dethroned and that the dethronement made matters easy for Kobâd, who then seized the throne of Persia. According to Firdousi, Kobâd was only 16 years of age when he came to the throne, and it was Sufrai who asked Balâsh to retire and set Kobâd on the throne. Anyhow, it seems, that for some time, Sufrai was the real ruler and Kobâd a nominal king. Some time after Kobad came to the throne, some of his courtiers prejudiced him against Sufrai, who was his father's confidential minister and who had released him from the hands of the Haetalite king Khoushnawaz. He was told, that Sufrai was ambitious and looked for royal power, etc. He, thereupon, got Sufrai murdered. The Persians therefore rose in rebellion against him for this unjust conduct, and handed him over as a prisoner to Zarmeher, the son of Sufrai. They then placed his brother Jamasp on the throne. Zarmeher however treated Kobâd well and set him free. Kobâd, in company with Zarmeher, fled to the country of the Haetalites. On his way there, he fell in love with the beautiful daughter of a village headman, who traced his descent from Feridun and married her. Noshirwan was born of this wife who was named Baboudokht.[2]

Both western and eastern writers differ on the subject of Kobâd's marriage or marriages. Some say, that he went to the court of Khoushnawaz, the Hunnic king, for the second time to seek help against his brother Jamasp, who was placed on the throne of Persia by his people when they dethroned him for his Mazdakaism or such other fault. When there, he married a daughter of the Hunnic king, and that it was from this Hunnic wife that Nosherwan was born. Some say this queen was not the daughter of Khoushnawaz himself, but was a royal lady of the court of Firouz, who, having fallen a prisoner in the hands of the Hunnic king, was adopted by him as his daughter.

As to his deposition also, there are differences. Some say that his inclination towards the socialistic views of Mazdak was the cause of

[1] The Book of Arda Viraf by Hoshang-Haug-West. Chap. 58.

[2] Drouin's Mémoire, p. 44.

dethronement. Others place the fact of his relation with Mazdak[1] a little later on. Some say, that anticipating what was going to take place, he himself retired. Anyhow, this much was certain, that Kobâd had made himself unpopular and was therefore dethroned by his people or had to leave the throne.

Jamasp had a short reign of about 3 years (497-499 A. D.). Kobâd soon sought the help of the Hunnic king and regained his throne. According to Tabari[2], he had the help of 30,000 soldiers from the Hunnic king.

Kobad promised a tribute to the Hunnic king in return of the assistance he received from him. He had a number of Huns in his Persian army serving as auxiliaries. The tribute not being paid regularly, the Hunnic king pressed for it. So, Kobad turned to the Roman Emperor Anastasius and asked for help of money from him. This help being refused, he besieged Theodosopolis, the modern Erzeroum, which formed a part of Roman Armenia. When he was in Mesopotamia, busy with the Romans, the Huns invaded his dominions and so he had to return. He then had long wars with these Ephthalite Huns, commencing from 503 A.D. According to the Byzantine writers, Kobad soon made peace with his enemies in the West and concentrated all his efforts for the war with the Huns which lasted for about 10 years (503 to 513 A. D.). During these years, he had also to fight against a famine in his country. Again, besides the Ephthalite Huns, there arose against him the Huns of the Caucasus and the Kidarite Huns. According to Tabari[3], he fought also with the Khazars who also were a Hunnic tribe.

According to Tabari[4], it was during the reign of this sovereign, that Shamar, a son of Tobba, the king of the Arabs, founded the city of Samarkand which, upto then, forming a part of the Empire of China, was known as Shin or Chin. Shamar took the city by a ruse in concert with a princess of the city who was duped by the invader.

Kobad and the introduction of the payment of land revenue in coins.

Again, according to the same author[5], it was during this reign that the Persian kings turned from payment in kind to payment in coin in the matter of the land revenue. It is said, that at one time, when Kobad was in a village, he heard the wife of a villager rebuking her child for plucking a grape from a vine-plant. Kobad inquired, why she would

[1] For particulars about his teachings, *vide* my paper on "Mazdak, the Iranian socialist" in Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume.

[2] Zotenburg II, p. 151.

[3] Zotenburg II, p. 148.

[4] Zotenberg II, p. 156.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 152, Chap. XXX.

not let her own child eat a grape. This honest woman said, that until the officers of the king took an inspection of the crop, she was not justified in letting the grapes to be eaten by the child, because the king was to be paid a share of the crop. The king was touched by the honesty of the woman and saw the harshness of the system, whereby a farmer could not make any use of his crop till the State officers measured the crop; so, consulting with his officers, Kobad introduced the system of levying some fixed revenue from land, whereby the farmers could be at liberty to make any use they liked of their produce.

The Chinese Annals on the relations of the Huns with the Persians under Kobâd.

The ancient Persians under the Sassanides had come into contact with the Chinese[1]. Moses of Chorene, a known Armenian writer of the 5th century, who wrote in about 440 A.D., speaks of China as Jenasdan (*i.e.*, Chinistân) and of its emperor as Jenpagur (*i.e.*, Chin Phagfur). He refers to some relations between the emperor of China and Ardeshir Bebegan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty.[2] But the first notice of Persia in the Chinese Annals is that of about 461 A.D. Col. Yule, thus speaks of the subject: "Their first notice of Persia is the record of an embassy to the Court of the Wei in 461; succeeded by a second in 466. In the year 518-519, an ambassador came from Kinhoto (Kobad), king of that country, with presents and a letter to the emperor. The Chinese annalists profess to give the literal terms of the letter which uses a tone of improbable humility."

Kobad was in war with Justin, the king of Rome. The latter sent ambassadors to the king of the Huns, asking for help against Kobad. These Huns are spoken of as Hongres and their country as Hungrie, by the writer whom M. Deguigne[3] follows. Herein, we see the origin of the name of modern Hungary. The king, whose help Justin sought, was named Zilidges. He is also spoken of as Zeliobes, Zilgbi, and Ziagbir.[4] His capital was on the North of Derbend.[5] He

[1] For references to China in Parsee books, *vide* my Paper before the B. B. R. A. Society entitled "References to China in the Ancient books of the Parsees," Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, pp. 525-36. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Pt. I., pp. 241-54.

[2] "Cathay and the Way thither," being a Collection of Mediæval Notices of China by Col. Yule. New edition, revised by Dr. Henri Cordier (1915), Vol. I, Preliminary Essay, pp. 93 *et seq.*

[3] Histoire des Huns, &c., Vol. I, Part II, p. 319, noted.

[4] *Idid*, note e.

[5] Derbend is situated in the state of Hissâr in Central Asia. Between it and Khuzur lie the celebrated defile of Kohlugu (a Mongolian word, meaning a barrier) and the iron-gate, and now known as Buzghal Khana, *i.e.*, Goat's House. It is said to be very narrow, in some places only about 5 ft. wide, and affords the only outlet from the valley.

was paid for the promised help. He entered at the same time into a treaty with Kobâd, binding himself to help him against Justin. Kobâd, learning this fact from Justin, was enraged at this treachery and put to death the Hunnic king, who had joined his army with about 80,000 men. This was in about 521 A. D.

At one time in the reign of Kobâd, two different tribes or branches of the Huns took two different sides. A division of the Huns known as the Salai Huns, under the leadership of their queen Barez, who had succeeded to the leadership on the death of her husband Malak, helped Justinian, the Roman Emperor, against the Persians. Another tribe of the same Huns, led by Styrax and Gloves, helped Kobâd with 20,000 men. In the subsequent fight that took place between these rival parties of the Huns, the adherents of Kobâd were defeated.

Naoshirwan (531-579) and the Huns.

According to Firdousi, Naoshirwan succeeded his father Kobâd. One of his first acts was to sign the treaty of Ctesiphon in 533 A.D. whereby the long war between the Persians and Romans in Mesopotamia was ended. One of his great works was to build large fortified walls across those parts of his frontiers, from which some Turkish tribes of the Hunnic stock now and then committed inroads into his territories. He then went against the Alans who soon surrendered. He then subdued the Baluchis and received homage from Indian princes on the banks of the Indus. He then crushed the power of the Ephthalites. Once upon a time, the Khakân of China thought it advisable to seek the friendship of Naoshirwan. So, he sent an embassy to him with many rich presents. The embassy had to pass through the country of the Haetalites or Ephthalites who were then ruled over by Gatcre (غاتقر). The Haetalian king did not like any closer alliance between the Khakan of China and the Shah of Persia. So, he impeded the way of the Embassy. The Khakan, whose people, according to Firdousi, were the descendents of the tribes of Afrâsiab and Arjâsp, thereupon declared war against the Haetalites of Gatcre. His army, under a general named Fanj, marched towards the river Gulzaryun (گلزریون). His army consisted of the Kâchârbashis (کاچارباشی) and the people of Chach (چاچ). The army of the Haetalian king Gatcre collected war materials from the countries of Balkh, Shignan, Amur, and Zam. The soldiers were from the country of Khallan, Tarmud and Viseh. Bokhara was the principal seat of the Haetalian army. The Haetalians were in the end defeated completely. The people thereupon met in an

assembly and elected Fagâni (فغاني) of the tribe of Chagâni (چغاني) as their leader and king, and thought it advisable to seek, under the circumstances, an alliance with Naoshirwan.

On the other hand, Naoshirwan, when he heard of the war between the Haetalian king Gatcre and the Khakan of China, the tribes of both of whom belonged to the same original stock, was well inclined towards the fallen Haetalites, because he found, that one day, the victorious Khakan may get overpowerful and overbearing. He made preparations to march against the Khakan. The latter, hearing of this, sent ambassadors offering friendship and submission, and returned to his country, no longer molesting the Haetalites. The alliance was further completed by Naoshirwan, marrying a daughter of the Khakan. Naoshirwan's successor Hormuzd was the fruit of this marriage.

The Huns' final crushing defeat at the hands of the Persians under Naoshirwan.

A year after the marriage, Naoshirwan arranged with the Khakan to invade the territories of the Haetalites with a view to completely avenge the death of his grandfather Firouz who was killed in a war with them. The Haetalites under their king Faghani were completely defeated and their empire was divided between Naoshirwan and the Khakan. This event took place in about 557 A.D. This was a great crushing defeat which the Haetalites or Ephthalites received at the hands of Naoshirwan. They then retired to other countries. Thus ended the long war, the one-hundred years' war of the Haetalites with the Persians. M. Drouin gives the following dates about the principal events of this hundred years' war :—

Arrival of the Haetalites or Ephthalites in Transoxania ...	420-25
The First War of the Persians under Behramgour ...	427
The Second War... Yazdagard II	442-49
The Third War	450-51
The Fourth War	454
Firouz seeks the aid of the Haetalites against his brother Hormuzd III	458
Firouz's First War with the Haetalites	474-76
Firouz's Second War	482-84
The War of Safrai with the Haetalites	484-85
Kobâd at the Court of the Haetalites to ask for help ...	486
Kobâd at their Court for the second time	497-99
Kobâd's War with them	503-13
Naoshirwan's War with them when they were finally destroyed and driven away	556-57

VII.

IV.—The Indian Empire. The Hunnic Inroads into it.

The Hunas mentioned in the Vishnu Purana.

We find a mention of the Hunas in two places in the Vishnu Purana, both, in the third chapter of the 2nd book[1]. (*a*) In the first mention the writer gives a description of the Bharata-Varsha (India). After a mention of its extent, its mountains, divisions, and rivers, its principal nations are mentioned, and among these, in the list of those living "in the extreme west," we find the Hunas. Wilson, while speaking of these people in his Vishnu Purana says: "By the Hunas we are to understand the white Huns or Indo-Scythians, who were established in the Punjab and along the Indus at the commencement of our era, as we know from Arrian, Strabo, and Ptolemy, confirmed by recent discoveries of their coins.

(*b*) The second mention is in the detailed list of the different people. In this list, among what are called "ferocious and uncivilized races," are included "Sakridgrahas, Kulatthas, Hunas, and Pârsîkas."[3] As to the last people, the Pârsîkas (the Parsees), Wilson says that they are known both as Pârsîkas or Pârtakas. "The first is not a common form in the Pûranas, although it is in poetical writings, denoting, no doubt, the Persians or people of Pars or Fars: the latter, also read Pâradas, may imply the same as beyond (Pâra) the Indus.[4] It may be noted in this connection, that the Pahlavas, or Pallavas or Pahnavas[5] (the Parthians) are spoken of separately in the Vishnu Purana.[6] Wilson speaks of them as "a northern or north-western nation, often mentioned in Hindu writings, in Manu, the Râmâyana, the Purânas, &c. They were not a Hindu people and may have been some of the tribes between India and Persia[7].

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[1] The Vishnu Purana, a system of Hindu Mythology and Tradition, translated from the original Sanscrit, by H. H. Wilson (1840), pp. 177 and 194.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 177, n. 6.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 194.

[4] *Ibid*, n. 149.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 189 and 195.

[6] According to Wilson, this form 'Pahnavas' is more usual in the text. *Ibid*, p. 195, n. 158.

Ibid, p. 189, n. 61.

The Hunas in the Raghuvança of Kalidas.

The Hunas are also referred to in the Raghuvança (Canto IV, 68)[1] of Kalidas. The date of this celebrated poet of India is not certain. But "the balance of evidence is in favour of the view that the poet flourished in the sixth century A. D."[2] We read the reference to the Huns in the following lines of his poem :—

"His mighty acts,
Wrought on their husbands, Hûna dames proclaimed,
Recorded on their cheeks in angry scars.[3]"

Professor P. B. Pathak, thus translates the three couplets referring to Raghu's march towards the country of the Hunas :

"Thence Raghu marched against the regions of Kubera, subjugating the northern kings with arrows as the sun drinks up the water with his rays.

"His horses relieved of the fatigue of the journey by rolling on the banks of the Indus shook their bodies which had saffron flowers clinging to their manes.

"There the redness on the cheeks of the Hûna queens testified to Raghu's achievements in which his prowess was displayed against their husbands".[4]

According to Mallinâtha, the commentator of the Raghuvança, Kâlidâsa, meant, that Raghu marched against the countries of the Hûnas, and that the Hûna princes being killed, their wives mourned over the loss of their husbands.[5]

It seems that the Huns had some relations with India from early times, just as the Persians had. But, just as their relations with Persia in the Sassanian times above referred to, may be said to have been more authentic, so, their relations with the later Guptas may be said to be more authentic.

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[1] The Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa with the commentary of Mallinatha by Kashinath Pandurang Paraba, 2nd edition (1882), p. 89.

[2] "The date of Kalidasa" by Mr. K. B. Pathak (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX, p. 35).

[3] The Raghuvanca, translated by P. De Lacy Johnstone (1902) p. 34, ll. 179-81.

[4] Paper on "The Date of Kalidasa," Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX, p. 36.

[5] *Ibid.*

Authentic History. The first invasion of the Huns A.D. 455.

A. D. 330 to 455, a period of about a century and a half, was the golden age of the Guptas.[1] The death of Kumaragupta in 455 brought that age to an end. Skandagupta[2] came to the throne after him. An irruption of the Huns from the steppes of Central Asia through the North-Western passes was one of the causes that brought about the end of this golden age. Skandagupta saved India for a time by defeating these Huns. To commemorate that event, he erected at Bhitari "a pillar of victory" with a statue of Vishnu at the top.

Bhitari is a village about five miles from Sayidpur in the Ghazipur district of the North-Western provinces. The inscription [3] is on a red sand-stone column, and in the Sanskrit language. The object of the inscription is "to record the installation of an image of the god Vishnu . . . . and the allotment to the idol, of the village . . . . in which the column stands.[4] In this inscription, Skandagupta speaks of himself as one "by whose two arms the earth was shaken, when, he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool joined in close contact with the Hûnas."[5] This inscription, as said by Dr. Fleet, is not dated. But as pointed out by Dr. Smith, "this great victory over the Huns must have been gained at the very beginning of the new reign" [6] (about 455 A.D.). This is inferred from another inscription of Skandagupta at Junâgadh. The inscription is on a large granite boulder at the foot of Mount Girnar. The boulder has three inscriptions on it of three different periods. (*a*) The first is that containing 14 edicts of Asoka. (*b*) The second, which is later, is that of the Satrap Mahâkhshatra Rudradâman[7] who had built the lake Sudarshana. (*c*) The third inscription, much latterly added, is the inscription in question of Skandagupta.

Skandagupta's inscription on the boulder is dated 138th year[8] of the Guptas, *i.e.*, A.D. 457-58. It takes a note of his work of repairing the

[1] These Guptas were known as the "Early Guptas" and were distinguished from the "Later Guptas of Magadha."

[2] Kumargupta I was succeeded by Skandagupta (455-80), who, in turn, was succeeded by his brother Puragupta (480-485). Puragupta was succeeded by his son Narsimhagupta Baladitya, who was succeeded by his son Kumargupta II.

[3] For this inscription, *vide* "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their successors," by Dr. J. F. Fleet (1888), pp. 52-56.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 53. [5] *Ibid*, p. 56.

[6] The Early History of India, 3rd edition, 1914, p. 309.

[7] Rudradaman's inscription speaks of the city as "Girinagara," *i.e.*, the City of the hill. This name seems to have given to the mountain, on the side of which it is supposed to have stood at first, its modern name Girnar, its old name being Urjayat.

[8] Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Guptas, p. 58.

embankment of the above lake[1]. Now, in this inscription, Skandagupta's victory over the Huns mentioned in the previous inscription, is referred to, in words of allusion, but not in name. The words used in this second description, *viz.* "verily the victory has been achieved by him" (Skandagupta),[2] in reference to his victory over the Mlechchas (foreigners of alien religion) are a repetition of similar words in the previous inscription [3] used in connection with the king's victory over the Huns. This fact shows that it is the victory over the Huns that is referred to in this second inscription, bearing the date of about 458. So, the victory of Skandagupta over the Huns must have taken place before this time.

In or about 465 A.D., there was another great inroad of the Huns into India. We have the authority of the Chinese traveller Sung-yun or Sing-yun to say so. He travelled in India in 520 A.D. He thus speaks of the Ye-thas, who were a tribe of the Huns: "This is the country which the Ye-thas destroyed, and afterwards set up Laelih to be king over the country; since which event two generations have passed. The disposition of this king (or dynasty) was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Budha, but loved to worship demons . . . . The king continuously abode with his troops on the frontier, and never returned to his kingdom in consequence of which the old men had to labour and the common people were oppressed." [4]

We learn from this statement of the Chinese traveller, that the Huns occupied the country of Gandhâra (near Peshâwar) or the North-Western Punjab, which was then ruled over by the Kushans. The Chinese traveller speaks harshly of their atrocities.

Of the tribe of Ye-tha (Ephthalites), Mr. Beal says:[5] "The Ye-tha were a rude horde of Turks who had followed in the steps of the Huing-nu; they were in fact the Ephthalites or Huns of the Byzantine writers." According to the above Chinese writer, these Ye-tha Huns set up a king of their own named Lae-lih. Cunningham thinks that the Hunnic King Lae-lih was the father of Toramâna. They settled there and advanced further into the interior of India in 470 A.D., and invaded Skandagupta's territories in the heart of his country. Owing to the repeated attacks of these Huns, whose hordes seem to have followed one after another into India, Skandagupta was in the end

[1] *Ibid* p. 63. [2] *Ibid* p. 62. [3] *Ibid* p. 55.

[4] "Si-Yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World," by Samuel Beal, Vol I, (1884) Introduction, pp. 99—100.

[5] *Ibid*, Introduction, p. XVI.

defeated. The Hunnic war brought great financial distress to Skandagupta's reign. Consequently, coinage degraded both, in the purity of its gold and "in the design and execution of the dies."[1] Skandagupta died in or about 480 A. D.

What directed the Huns to India.

The Huns, before they invaded India this time, had tried their luck elsewhere. When checked there, they came to India. We saw above, that they were now and then driven to extensive inroads and migrations by want of food in the country where they settled, whether provisionally or permanently. Their inroads were, as said above, in accordance with the Bread and Butter Theory of Huttington.[2] They were driven towards the West, towards Europe from their steppes in Asia by want of food. We saw, that in the 4th century A.D. they went to Eastern Europe and invaded the country of the Goths, who themselves were the descendants of some of their own previous Turkish tribes, similarly driven to the West in some earlier times. The Goths thus driven invaded the countries of the Romans whose Gothic War cost them the life of their Emperor Valens in 378. The Huns then spread into other parts of Europe, but, being divided into a number of groups or tribes which fought against one another, they could not unite. At last, some of the powerful tribes united under Attila, who caused terror among the people of the Roman Empire. He died in 453 and his Hunnic Empire broke for a time. During this period, some of their tribes had been trying their strength with the Persians who kept them under certain check. We saw above, that they had long continuous wars with the Persians even in the Peshdadian and Kyanian times. In the Sassanian times, Behramgour had a long war with them. His son Firouz had to continue that war and in the end he lost his life falling into a concealed trench dug by them (484 A. D.). Kobâd, Naoshirwan, Hormuzd, Khushru Purviz all had to fight, with more or less success, against their different tribes, the Haetalites, Khazars and others, known generally as the Turcs of the Khâkân.

On the defeat and death of the Persian king Firouz, the Huns must have grown stronger. About 500 A.D., they, led by Toramâna, brought stronger attacks on India. Toramâna settled himself in Malwa in Central India, at some time before 500. He assumed the Indian title of Maharajadhiraja, *i.e.*, the Raja of the Maharajas. He established his power so strongly, that besides taking this Indian title, he struck coins in his name and engraved inscriptions.

[1] Smith's Early History of India, 3rd edition (1914), p, 311.

[2] The Pulse of Asia.

Three Indian Inscriptions, bearing Toramâna's name.

Three inscriptions are known, wherein his name occurs. (*a*) The first is an inscription of his own reign and is that at Eran in the Khurâ sub-division of the Sâgar district in the Central Provinces. It is inscribed on "the chest of a colossal red sand-stone statue of a Boar, about 11 feet high representing the God Vishnu in his incarnation as such[1]." The object of the inscription "is to record the building of a temple in which the Boar stands, by Dhanyuvishnu, the younger brother of the deceased Mahârâja Mâtrivishnu[2]." In this inscription, engraved in the first year of Toramâna's reign, he (Toramâna) is spoken of as "the glorious Torâmana of great fame (and) of great lustre[3]." It gives no era, but its reference to Matrivishnu helps scholars to determine its approximate date. This Mâtrivishnu is referred to as a feudatory of the king Budhagupta in an inscription of the latter's reign,[4] which is dated completely in words in the year 165, *i.e.*, 484-85 [5]. This date in Budhagupta's inscription leads us to say, that the date of this inscription and the date of Toramâna referred to therein must be some date about 484-85 A. D.

(*b*) The second inscription of Toramâna is that at Kura in the Salt Range. The inscription is, at present, in the Lahore Museum. We find the following account of this inscription in the Epigraphia Indica[6], from the pen of the late Dr. E. Bühler[7] :—"The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a Buddhist monastery by one Siddhavṛiddhi, the son of Roṭṭa-Jayavṛiddhi, for the teachers of the Mahiśasaka school. . . . . The inscription was incised during the reign of the king of kings, the great king Toramâna Shâha or Shâhi, Jaüvla, to whom and to whose family the donor wishes to make over a share of the merit gained by his pious gift. The date is unfortunately not readable. On palæographical grounds, it may be assigned to the fourth or the fifth century."

The inscription refers to Toramâna in the following words : "In the prosperous reign of the king of kings, the great king Toramâni Shâhi Jaû. . . . (राजा—राजमहाराज तोरमानी षाहि जऊ).[8]

(*c*) The third inscription is that of the time of Toramâna's son Mihircula inscribed in his (Mihircula's) 15th year of reign. It was "found

[1] Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Guptas, p. 158. [2] *Ibid*, p. 159.

[3] Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, No. 36, p. 160.

[4] *Ibid*, No. 19, Plate XIIA., pp. 88-90. [5] *Ibid*, p. 89.

[6] Epigraphia Indica, a Collection of Inscriptions supplementary to the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, edited by Dr. J. Burgess (1892), p. 239.

[7] The article is entitled "The new Inscription of Toramana Shaha."

[8] *Ibid*, pp. 239-40.

built into the wall in the porch of a temple of the sun in the fortress at Gwalior in Central India." It is now in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. The inscription[1] refers to solar worship and records the building of a temple dedicated to the Sun, and built by one Mâtrichêta in the reign of Mihircula "for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (his) parents and of himself."[2] Mihircula is referred to in this inscription as being the son of Toramâna who is spoken of as "a ruler of great merit[3]." The inscription begins with the praise of the sun. Mihircula himself is spoken of as a person "of unequalled prowess, the lord of the earth."[4]

Identification of the Hunnic names in Indian inscription on the authority of Firdousi.

From an account of the relations of the Hunnic kings with the Sassanians, as given by Firdousi, and as referred to by us above, we find that there was a Hunnic or Haetalite king, who had helped Firouz or Pirouze. This Persian king reigned from 457 to 484 A.D. He was the son of Yazdagard II (438-457). Yazdagard had, on his death bed, directed that the throne may be given to his son Hormuzd (Hormazd or Hormirisdas III, 457 A.D.). The throne having thus passed to his brother Hormazd, Pirouz disputed it and with the help of the Hunnic king, invaded Persia and won the throne which was occupied by Hormuzd for hardly a year. Now this Hunnic or Haetalite king, who helped Pirouz, was, according to Firdousi, Faghânish (فغانيش).[5] He is spoken of as the Shâh of Haital (شاہ ہیتال)[6] and also as Chagâni Shahi (چغاني شہي).[7]

I think the title "Shâhi" of the Indian inscription of Toramâna is the same as the above Shâhi of Firdousi. I also think, that the title "Jaû..." in the Indian inscription of Toramâna is the same as that of Chagani in Firdousi's Shah-Nameh. In the Indian inscription, the portion of the title which is quite legible is "Jaû...". The other letters are, says Dr. Buhler, very faint and partly doubtful."[8] On the suggestion of Dr. Fleet, he reads them as 'vla' and thus takes the whole word to be Jaûla. I think the faint and doubtful letters are 'gan' and so the whole word is Jaugan or Jaugani, which is another form of Firdousis' Chagani. 'Ch' and 'J' being letters of the same class, the words Chagani and Jagani are the same.[9]

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[1] Dr. Fleet's Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, p. 163. No. 3

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Mecan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III, p. 1589. [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*

[8] Epigraphia Indica, edited by Dr. Burgess, p. 239, n. 1.

[9] According to M. E. Drouin, Chegan was also written "Djagan" (Mémoir surles. Huns Ephthalites, p. 21).

This Hunnic king was called Chagani from the fact of his Huns being specially connected with Chagan. Chagân seems to have been their favourite place. They were very eager to retain Chagan in their hands. Later on, when Kobâd sought the aid of the Hunnic king Khoushnavâz, the latter asked the Persian king to agree, that he would never claim Chagan, and the Persian king agreed.[1]

The identification of the above two words Shâhi and Jau (gani) of the Indian inscription of the Hunnic king Toramâna with the titular words Shâhi and Chagani of Firdousi's Hunnic king Faghana brings us to, or helps us in, the identification of the name of the king himself. I think, that the Hunnic king Toramâna of the Indian inscription may be the same as the Hunnic Fagâna of Firdousi's Shahnameh. The identification of the titles is pretty certain. So, anyhow, this Toramâna, known as the Shahi and Jau (la) or Jaugani was, if not the same king as Firdousi's Hunnic king known as the Shahi and Chaghani, at least a member of the same family or stock.

These identifications lead us to say, that the time of the Hunnic king Toramâna of the Indian inscription is some time during the reign (457 to 484 A. D.) of king Firouz of Persia. So, I think, it was after this event, *viz.*, the accession of Firouz to the throne of Persia with the help of the Hunnic king (A. D. 457), that the Huns may have turned towards India for the second invasion and made an inroad into it. Firouz had further wars with the Haetalite Huns, but they were with another king, *viz.*, Khoushnavâz. I think, Tabari is wrong in naming the Hunnic king who helped Firouz to gain the throne of Persia as Khoushnavâz, and that Firdousi is right in naming one as Fagani, and the other as Khoushnavâz.

اگر باز یابي تو گنج و کلاه
چغاني مرا باشد و گنج و گاه
مرا باشد آن مرز و فرمان من
نگهداري این عهد و پیمان من
زبردست را گفت خندان قباد
کزان بوم هرگز نگیرم یاد
چو خواهي فرست مت بی مر سپاه
چغانی چه باشد که دارم نگاه

Mecan's Text, III, p. 1609.

Mihircula.

In 510 A. D., Mihiragula (Mihirkula) succeeded, Toramâna. Sakala (Siâlkot) in Punjab was his capital. He had struck his coins also. The Hunnic rule was in the ascendency in India in his time. It had spread far and wide beyond India. Bâmyân near Herat and Balkh were two of the principal centres of these Huns ruled over by Hun kings. One of the two kings of these two centres was so powerful, that he levied tribute from forty countries, between the frontiers of Persia in the West, to Khotan on the frontiers of China in the east.[1] A Chinese pilgrim-envoy, Sung-Yun, from the king of China, visited his Court in about 519 or 520 A. D.[2] It is believed that Mihirkula ruled also over the country of Gandhara. It is the same Mihirkula who is referred to in the Rajatarangini, the History of Kashmir, by Kalhana, as a wicked king who was opposed to the local Brahmins and who imported Gandhara Brahmins into Kashmir and India. The practices and customs attributed to him and to his Brahmins show that these imported Brahmins were Zoroastrian in their belief to some extent.

I suspect that the Mâtrichata, the builder of the sun-temple, referred to in the above inscription, wherein Mihircula, the Hunnic king is mentioned, was himself a foreigner, one of the same stock of Huns to which Mihircula belonged. He was an Iranian Hun, who, it is very likely, believed in some forms of Zoroastrianism. His special reference to the true religion (Sad-Dharma, [3] Cf. Behdin) and to the classes of the twice-born (Dvija-gana[4]) leads us to that inference.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, the monk-writer, who wrote in 547 A. D., refers to a king of the White Huns, named Gollas, as ruling oppressively in India and drawing large tributes. This *Gollas* is thought to be the same as this Mihira *gula*, "the Attila of India.[5]"

In the end, Mihircula was defeated in about 528 A. D. by an Indian king. He was taken prisoner and was sent away with all honour, due to a captive king, to his capital at Sakala (Sialkot). Taking advantage of the defeat of Mihircula in the south, his brother usurped his throne. So Mihircula went to Kashmir whose king extended to

[1] *Vide* S. Beal's Si-Yu-ki, Buddhist records of the Western World (1884), Vol. I, Introduction pp. LXXXIV *et seq.* for the Mission of this traveller.

[2] Some of the court customs of the Hunnic king of the country of Yêtha (Ephthalites), remind us of our present court customs. For example, (a) on entering the assembly, one man announces your name and title; then each stranger advances and retires..... (b) The royal ladies of the Ye-tha country also wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more; they have special train-bearers for carrying these lengthy robes." (*Ibid* p. XCI).

[3] Dr. Fleet's inscriptions of the Early Gutpa kings, No. 37, p. 162.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Dr. Smith's "History of India," 3rd edition, p. 307.

him his hospitality, which he abused by raising a revolt against him and seizing his throne. Mihircula died in or about 548 A. D.

The invasion of India by the Huns is said to have "changed the face of Northern India."[1] Had their power not been broken, they would have still further changed the face of the country.

VIII.

WHO BROKE THE POWER OF THE HUNS IN INDIA.

Mr. Vincent Smith and Bâlâditya.

Now, the question among Indian scholars is: Who broke the power of the Huns in India? Mr. Vincent Smith gives the credit to Bâlâditya (Narasimhagupta), the King of Magadha. He associates with him Yashodharman, a Raja of Central India,[2] as one playing the second fiddle. He says that both these Rajas "appear to have formed a confederacy against the foreign tyrant." He takes the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang for his authority. Hiuen Tsang says as follows: "We came to the old Town of Shákala (She-kie-lo)..... Some centuries ago, there was a king called Mo-hi-lo-kin-lo (Mihiracula) who established his authority in this town and ruled over India. He was of quick talent, and naturally brave. He subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception. In his intervals of leisure he desired to examine the law of Buddha, and he commanded that one among the priests of superior talent should wait on him. Now it happened that none of the priests dared to attend to his command."[3] Hiuen Tsang then says, that as no good respectable priest offered his services, to explain to the king the law of Buddha, an old servant in King's household who had long worn the religious garment was put forward for the purpose. Mihiracula resented this want of respect towards him and ordered a general massacre of the Buddhist priests. "Bálâditya-raya, King of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihiracula, he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mihiracula raised an army to punish his rebellion." In the war that issued, Bálâditya retired at first on some "islands of the sea," but subsequently defeated Mihiracula and took him a captive. Bálâditya ordered Mihiracula to be killed, but his mother interceded and persuaded her son to forgive him. Mihiracula's

[1] Kennedy, Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1908, p. 879.

[2] Smith's History of India, 3rd edition (1914), p. 318.

[3] Buddhist Records of the Western World (Bk. IV), translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang (A.D. 629) by Samuel Beal, Vol. I, p. 167.

brother ascended his brother's throne at Shakala (Sialkot), and Mihiracula retired to Kashmir, where he was welcomed by the king of the country. But he proved ungrateful and after a short time usurped the throne of Kashmir.[1]

According to Hiuen Tsang, who travelled from 629 to 645 A.D., the Mihiracula mentioned by him lived some centuries before his time. Mr. Vincent Smith says: "It is not easy to explain why the pilgrim alleges (p. 167, Beal Records, Vol. I) that Mihiracula lived 'some centuries' before his time."[2] According to Mr. Smith, "Watters is inclined to think that the tale told by Hiuen Tsang refers to a Mihiracula of much earlier date. Dr. Fleet suggests that there may be an error in the Chinese text."[3]

Dr. Rundolph Hoernle and Yashodharman.

Dr. Rundolph Hoernle differs from Mr. Vincent Smith and gives the sole credit of the Indian victory over the Huns to Yashodharman (Vishnuvardhman), a Raja of Central India. He admits no confederacy and rests the claim of his hero on three inscriptions of Yashodharman, which Mr. Smith sets aside as a piece of false boasting on the part of the king. As to this epigraphical evidence, Dr. Hoernle particularly refers to two inscriptions of Yashodharman at Mandasor, known as rana-stambhas, *i.e.*, "Columns of Victory in War."[4] There are two columns at short distances, but the inscription on both is the same. One may be said to be, as it were, the duplicate of the other, built, perhaps with a view, that if one was destroyed, another may continue to proclaim the work and the victory of the king. The inscription on one (No. 33) is well-nigh entire, but much of that on the other (No. 34) is destroyed. Yashodharman thus speaks in column 33 of his victory over the Huns of Mihiracula. "He who, spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys those countries—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes (and) having (their) kings assaulted by (his) prowess—which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of the) earth (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hunas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings failed to penetrate .....he to whose two feet respect was paid with

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 168-171

[2] History of India, 3rd edition, p. 319, n. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1903, p. 549, *et seq.* *Vide* also *Ibid* of 1909, p. 89, *et seq.*

complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head by even that (famous) King Mihiracula."[1]

Mr. Vincent Smith[2] says, that Yashodharman, in this inscription of his, took to himself false credit and that Hiuen Tsang, the great Chinese traveller very properly gave the credit to Bâlâditya. Dr. Hoernle doubts the authority of Hiuen Tsang in this matter, saying that his account is romantic, though based on some truth. He says, that the authority of a contemporary inscription of King Yashodharman is far greater than that of Hiuen Tsang, who came to India much later, and who bases his version on what he had heard. That being the case, Yashodharman was properly the person who broke the power of the Huns.

The Vikrama era began in 57 B. C. It is now generally believed, that there existed no King Vikramaditya at that time, and that the era latterly known by his name, was then, in those early times, known as the Malwa era. Dr. Fleet thus sums up the explanation of the change of the name : "The word *vikrama*, from which the idea of the King Vikrama or Vikramaditya was evolved, most properly came to be connected with the era by the poets, because the year of reckoning originally began in the autumn, and the autumn was the season of commencing campaigns, and was, in short, the *vikrama-kala* or war-time."[3] Dr. Hoernle differs from this explanation, and thinks, that there did exist a king of the name of Vikrama. Who was that King ? Dr. Hoernle says, that Vikramâditya (*i.e.*, the Sun of prowess) seemed to be the popular title of the kings of Malwa during the later times of the Gupta Emperors, who lived and ruled in turbulent times, requiring great power in war-matters, just as Sâlâditya (*i.e.*, the Sun of goodness or peace) was the title of Harshavardhana of Kanouj. He thinks, that it was the above King Yashodharma of Malwa, that was known by the popular title of Vikramaditya.

The Indian Tradition, changing the name of the Malwa era into that of the Vikrama era, and its connection with the event of the Invasion of the Huns. Yashodharman, the Vikramaditya.

The Rajatarangini of Kashmir by Kalhana says (Bk. III), that there reigned " at Ujaina, King Vikramaditya called Hersha as the sole sovereign of the world ". It includes Kashmir in the territories of that king. It also speaks of a foreign King Mihiracula being defeated.

[1] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their successors by John Faithfull Fleet (1888) pp. 147-48. Inscription No. 33. Stone pillar inscription of Yashodharman at Mandasor in the Mandalsor district of Scindia's dominions in the Western Malwa division of Central India.

[2] Early History of India end. Edition p. 301.

[3] Quoted in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of 1909, p. 99.

The Mandasor inscription, above referred to, of Yashodharma also refers to Kashmir as one of his dominions, under the words "the tablelands of the Himalaya," and it also refers to the overthrow of Mihiracula by Yashodharma. So, it appears, that the Vikramaditya referred to by the Kashmir history as ruling in Ujjain and defeating Mihiracula, is King Yashodharma who is associated by his inscription with Kashmir and Mihiracula.

Dr. Hoernle further adduces (*a*) numismatic and (*b*) literary evidence to support Yashodharma's (Vikramaditya's) connection with Kashmir and his claim to be the successful opponent of the Huns.

(*a*) There are some coins known as the coins of Yashovarman, and they are believed to belong to the series of Kashmir coins. But, there has been no king of Kanauj of the name of Yashovarman who held Kashmir. So, Dr. Hoernle says, that this Yashovarman of the coins belonging to the Kashmir series, is the same as the Yashodharma of the Mandasor inscription and of the Kashmir History, the Rajatarangini of Kalhana.

(*b*) Tradition says, that there were "nine gems" nava-ratna, *i.e.*, nine learned men in the Court of Vikramaditya. Kalidasa is believed to be one of these best learned men of the time, who lived in the Court of Yashodharman. Another learned man was Varaha Mihira. This fact of some learned men (ratna) living in the Court of Yashodharma and also in the Court of Vikramaditya according to the tradition, points to the probability of Vikramaditya and Yashodharman being the same sovereign.

Prof. Pathak's Evidence.

The literary evidence of Yashodharman's connection with the conquest of Kashmir is further supplied by Professor Pathak who discovers it in Kalidas's Raghuvamsa. Kalidasa seems to have drawn his picture of the description of the conquest of his hero Raghu from an account of the conquest of a contemporary king in whose court he lived. Professor Pathak[1] concludes, that this contemporary King was Yashodharman, who took a note of his *digvijaya* in his Mandasor inscription on the "Column of Victory". The Kunkuma mentioned in Kalidas's poem is the well-known saffron of Kashmir.

Dr. Hoernle adds to Professor Pathak's evidence, a further evidence supplied by the landmarks given in the Mandasor inscription and in Kalidas's Raghuvamsa [2] to show, that the above referred to king, the contemporary of Kalidas, was Yashodharma (about 499-550 A. D.).

[1] Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX, p. 39.

[2] One of the landmarks in Kalidas's Raghuvamsa is the Western Country where ruled the Pârasika and other tribes from the West. This refers to the rule of the Persians over the Western part of India, over Gujarat, Kathiawad, Cutch, Sind, &c.

Mr. M. Chakravati on the question.

Mr. Monmohan Chakravati differs from Professor Pathak, and thinks, that the contemporary king from whose series of conquests Kalidas drew his picture of the *digvijaya* of his hero Raghu, was Skandagupta and Yashodharma. One of his arguments for his conclusion thus refers to an event in the history of Persia: Kalidas, in his Raghuvamsa, refers to the defeat of the Persians (Paràsika) on the frontiers of India. Mr. Chakravati identifies this event with an event in the reign of the Persian King Piruz (Firuz) (457-484), the son of Yazdagird II. As we saw above, Firuz had come into great contact with the Ephtalites who are otherwise spoken as the White Huns, Khazars, &c. These Ephthalites had helped him against his brother in securing the throne of Persia, but latterly he fell out with them. He alternately won and lost, but was at last killed in a battle with them in 484 A. D. The Ephthalites or the White Huns overran Persia. Their further fight was brought off by an annual subsidy by Persia. In this war, the Persians are believed to have lost a portion of their eastern territories on the frontiers of India.

Mr. Chakravati thinks, that Kalidas in his Raghuvamsa refers to this defeat of the Persians and to their loss of their eastern dominions. As this happened in about 484 A. D., when Skandagupta was ruling, he thinks that the contemporary of Kalidasa was Skandagupta and not Yashodharman. But Dr. Hoernle says, that it is not this event that is alluded to in the Raghuvamsa, because Piruz had lost in this war only Gandhara, and not the country on the direct frontiers. So, it is a later event. It is the event of Kavâdh (Kobâd) fighting on the side of his brother-in-law, the Hunnic King. With the help of the Huns, he removed his brother Jamasp from the throne (499 A. D.). He died in 531 A. D. Thus the Persian Kavâdh (488 or 489-531) was a contemporary of the Indian Yashodharman (490-550). The Huns had warred against Yashodharman, and in this war, they may have been helped by Kavâdh who had married a daughter of the Hunnic king. In this war, wherein he fought on the side of the Huns as their ally, he lost some of his eastern provinces, especially the province of Sindh. It is this loss that Kalidas refers to as the defeat of the Persians (Parasikas).

Evidence from Persian History.

We do not learn from Firdousi's Shahnamah anything about the loss of any territories on the frontiers of India either by Firouz or by Kobâd. Tabari and Maçoudi also do not speak directly of any loss of Persian territories on the frontiers of India. Tabari indirectly refers to such a loss. While speaking of the conquests of Naoshirwan, he says: "Then

Naoshirwan desired to possess equally a certain portion of Hindustan. He made a large army, with a distinguished general at its head march against Hindustan (and) against Serandib where lived its king. . . . This (Indian) king surrendered to him all the countries in the neighbourhood of Oman which had already been ceded to Persia in the time of Behramgour[1]. "

What we learn from this passage is this : A part of India on its frontiers belonged at one time to Persia under Behramgour. Between the time of that monarch and that of Naoshirwan, it had passed back from the hands of the Persians into the hands of the Indian king. We do not know in whose reign it so passed. But, looking to the history of the reigns of two of the several intervening kings, we find that it may be either in the reign of Firouz who was killed in the war with the Haetalite Huns, or in that of Kobâd, who also had friendly and unfriendly relations with them. Of these two, the reign of Kobâd was much weaker. He had to meet the brunt, both, of a kind of civil war and a foreign war. So, possibly it was during his reign, that a part of India which belonged to Persia in the reign of Behramgour, passed into the hands of the Indian king. Maçoudi also does not throw any light on the question. What we learn from him is simply this : " The kings of Hind and of Sind and of all the countries on the north and south concluded peace with the king of Persia (Naoshirwan)." The Indian king writes a letter " to his brother, the king of Persia, master of the crown and the banner, Kesr Anaoushirawan."

(الي اخيه ملک پارس صاحب التاج والرايت
کسري آنوشيروان)[2]

On weighing the arguments on both sides, including the appeals to the relations of the Huns to the Sassanide Persians, I am inclined to say, that the credit of crushing the power of the Huns in India belongs to Yashodharman. The authority of the Chinese traveller is a later authority and a second-hand authority. Again, there is one statement of this traveller, which leads us to pause before taking his statements as authentic. He places the Hunnic king Mihircula some centuries ago.[3] If that be true, the date of Baladitya and also that of Yashodharma are carried some centuries ago. This is contrary to facts.

My view of the case.

[1] Translated from Zotenberg's French Translation, Vol. II, p. 221, Chap. 42.

[2] Maçoudi par B. DeMeynard, Vol. II, p. 201.

[3] Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. I, p. 169.

Now, as opposed to this doubtful authority of the Chinese pilgrim-traveller, who speaks (*a*) some time after the event, and (*b*) that on second-hand information, and (*c*) upsetting the chronological order of time, we have (*a*) the contemporary authority and (*b*) that the first hand authority, (*c*) supported by a proper chronological order of dates of Yashodharma's own inscriptions.

It is suggested that the court-poet of Yashodharman may have given false credit to his royal patron on his inscriptions. But we must bear in mind, that kings have some reputation to uphold. If Yashodharman had not been the real victor, he would not have dared to get a wrong inscription put up. He ran the risk of being taken for a braggart or boaster by his contemporaries, by both, the princes and the peasants. The court-poet may be allowed to praise his royal master and even to deify him, if he liked ; but he would not be allowed to subject his master to public ridicule by attributing to him a feat or exploit which he did not do. To exaggerate in praise is one thing, but to state an untruth and to attribute a feat to the king which he did not do is another thing. The latter, instead of raising the king in the estimation of his contemporaries, his own subjects, would lower him. From all these considerations, I think that the real credit of breaking the power of the Huns belonged to king Yashodharman.

As said above, the History of the Sassanian kings of Persia has been appealed to, in determining the question of destroying the power of the Huns in India. In this connection, there is one point which seems to me to be important. If Kalidas refers to a defeat of the Persians, it is more likely that he refers to a defeat at the hands of his own people, the Indians, and at the hands of a king of his own country, and not to a defeat at the hand of others,—the Huns—who were also hostile to his people and his country. So, it is more likely that the event referred to the later event of Kavadh's reign as pointed out by Dr. Hoernle. From all this rather long review of events, we find that it was king Yashodharma, who broke the power of the Huns and it was he who was known as Vikramaditya.

A Copper-plate Inscription of Khandesh.

(*Read on 30th March* 1916.)

Introduction.

About the end of November last, Mr. P. B. Gothaskar, the Assistant Secretary and Librarian of the B. B. R. A. Society, sent me, for decipherment, a copper-plate grant. The Persian inscription on this plate forms the subject of my paper. In his subsequent letter, dated 19th January 1916, in reply to my inquiries about the place where the copper-plate was found, I was told that it belonged to Mr. Plunket, Assistant Postal Censor, Bombay, who had the plate "from a Bhil somewhere near the border of the Nizam's Dominions near the Ellora caves," and that "he secured it as of antiquarian interest."

I beg to thank Maulawi Sayyid Amiru-d-din of Naosari for helping me in deciphering some words here and there. I also beg to thank Mr. G. Yazdani for suggesting the reading of some doubtful words, and for placing at my disposal in that connection a Persian manuscript said to be compiled by Shāh Nawāz Khān (1699-1757), the author of the *Ma'āthiru-l Umarā'* (*Elliot*, Vol. VII, pp. 189-191). This manuscript, as stated by Mr. Yazdani, is "a sort of statistical account of the political divisions of the empire at that period (early eighteenth century), written very much on the lines of the Gazetteers of modern days."

Text.

نقشه پیرپولاد

سند از حضور پیرپولاد لامع[1] انوار صوبه خاندیس سرکار ملهیر خجسته بنیاد پرگنه تو (?) کالنه موضع اکار از حضور مذکور پیر پولاد بسبب رشادت و دلاوري سبب آبادي کردن برویرو اچوت پتیل ولد راوجي پتیل قوم مهراتي[2] ارک موري و هولو نایک ولد اچوت نایک بهیل ارک[3] بترتري را موضع اکار انعام داده شد زمین زراعت شصت بیگهه رود جنوب اسم از جائي کالي (?) و نیز حق معیني که از اراضي لایق هفت بوجهه و یا سر وغیره غله از زمین پیدا شود

[1] For لامع الانوار lit. bright with lights, luminous, brilliant, exhalted.

[2] *Arak* is a Dekhani Hindi word meaning a 'surname' (Shakespear's *Hindustani-English Dictionary*, p. 94). It corresponds to Gujarati *atak*.

[3] Perhaps the Bhilala tribe of the Bhils. *Khandeish Gazetteer*, p. 83.

سند از حضور میرزا ولی الله

موافق قرینه بدهد و اوتها ونی از غله موافق قرینه بدهد و هوشیاري
چوکهي از راه آمد و رفت از حکم سرکار هشیار باشد سند از
حضور جمیع اهل کار و راجوشنه (?) حاضر باش درین باب تاکید
اکید وقدغن دانشته بهیچ نوع الي آن زهیچ آیین [1] عدول حکمي
نورزند سنه ۱۰۱۷ هجري بتاریخ دوازدهم ۱۲ ماه شعبان روز
پنجشنبه

Translation.

A Grant (*sanad*) from the Court (or dignified presence *ḥuzūr*) of Pīr Paulād; the brilliant in splendour (lit. brilliant in rays) in the province (*sūbāh*) of Khandesh, in the district (*sarkār*) of Mulher, of auspicious foundation, in the sub-district (*parganah*) of . . . Kalna in the village (*mauza'*) of Ākār. The village of Ākār has been given as a gift by the court of the above Pīr Paulād for bravery and firmness in cultivating and making habitable (waste lands) to Veru Achut Patel, son of Rāoji Patel of the community of Marathi, of the tribe of Morē and to Haulu Nāik, son of Ākhut Nāik[2] Bhil of the tribe of Bariri.

Land of cultivation, 60 (bighas) [3] (near) the southern stream (namely) in the zone of black (soil) and also the settled Haqq[4] (lit. privilege or right), *viz.*, from cultivable lands seven *bojh*[5] or head loads of the grain produced in the land, may be given according to proportion (*i.e.* proportionately), and the rate for the removal (*uthāvni*[6] lit.

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[1] عدول حکمي *'udul-hukmi*, disobedience.

[2] *Nāik* has been wrongly written *bāik*, the *nuktah* or dot being marked below instead of above.

[3] A *Bigha* in the Mughal times was "a quantity of land 60 *gaz* long by 60 broad. Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3,600 square *gaz* . . . . . 3,600 square *guz*=2,609 sq. yards=0·538 or somewhat more than half an acre" (*Āin-i-Akbari* by Jarret, Vol. II, p. 62, and *n.*)

[4] *Haqq* حق . We learn from Captain Graham's article on the Bhils (*Historical Sketch of the Bheel Tribes inhabiting the Province of Khandesh* in *The Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. XXVI, New Series (1856), p. 219. (Separate print, p. 11), that the word 'Huk' or 'Huck' was a technical term as used among the Bhils. The Bhil Naiks had regular 'Huks,' *i.e.*, rights or privileges, whereby they received every year something in kind from every village of the district. When the British Government began to use a conciliatory policy to subdue and improve these hill tribes a "regular payment of a certain sum of money" was at length introduced "in lieu of their 'Huks', which had been heretofore received in kind from every village of the district."

[5] Hind. بوجهہ *bojh*, "load, weight; (in agricultural language) about 5 *dhokas* of corn" (John Shakespear's *Hindustani English Dictionary*.)

[6] From Uthānā, a Hindustani word of Sanskrit origin.

lifting up) of the grain may be given in proportion.[1] And in carefulness for (watching) the custom-post (*chauki*) on the road of ingress and egress; they may remain watchful for the orders of Government. The *sanad* may be presented[2] (*i.e.*, shown) to all the people of business and royalty.[3]

Recognising the urgent[4] order and injunction[5] they should not exercise any disobedience of the order in any way or in any manner so long as (this *sanad* is held by the donees). Year 1017 Hijri on the twelfth (12th) day of the month, Shā'bān, Thursday.[6]

Division of Land in Mughal times.

To understand properly the divisions of the country mentioned in the grant, one must understand the divisions as known in the Mughal times. The *Āin-i-Akbari* helps us a little in this direction. It says: "Each *Subah* is divided into a certain number of *sarkārs* and each

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[1] *Qarinah*, conjecture, similarity, symmetry, correspondence, regularity, order.

[2] Or it may mean, "the *sanad* may be taken as presented by all people."

[3] *Rājvashna* may be a mistake for *rājvansi* راج ونسي a Hindi word of Sanskrit origin, meaning 'of royal descent'. It is also the name of a Rajput tribe.

[4] *Akyad*, most urgent.

[5] The word, as it is written, can be read otherwise, but it seems to be miswritten for قد غن (*qad ghan*), *i.e.*, injunction order.

[6] "The latter portion of the *sanad* beginning from زمين زراعت may also be translated thus:—

[(The entire produce of) the sixty *bighas* of the cultivated land watered by the Southern stream, namely, from the place whence the black (cotton soil area begins); and also the fixed revenue on (other) cultivable lands, *i.e.*, seven *bojh* or head loads, etc., of the grain produced in the land, according to approximate calculation, should be paid (by Vīrū Āchut Patel and Hanlū Nāik to Pīr Paulād's government.) The tax on the removal of the corn should also be paid in proportion to the gross quantity. They (Vīrū and Hanlū) should also be mindful of the orders of Government (Pīr Paulād) in exercising a careful watch on the ingress and egress (of the village). The *sanad* (is issued) from the presence (of Pīr Paulād) to all officials and tax-collectors (?) at present holding office, who should follow the injunctions and directions contained in the orders, and should not disobey them in any circumstances or in any manner so long as (the *sanad* is held by the donees). 1017 A.H., on the 12th Shā'bān, Thursday.

The verbs بد ہے and باشد in lines 9 and 10 of the Persian text should have been in the plural form— بد ہند and باشند The dot of their ن seems to have been omitted through the carelessness of the engraver.

The donor, while bestowing the village on Vīrū and Hanlū for their services in colonizing the waste lands, has reserved certain items of revenue for his government, namely, the entire produce of the sixty *bighas* of the black cotton soil, a fixed rate on other cultivable lands, and the Uthāvīani tax. Further, he has bound the donees with the duty of keeping watch on the ingress and egress of the village in return for the gift made to them. Such conditions still prevail with regard to the colonization of the desolate areas technically called زميين بى چراغ: in the Decean "—Mr. G. Yazdani.]

sarkār into *parganāhs* or *mahals* (used as equivalent expressions)."[1] In Akbar's time "His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *Subah* . . . . . When Berār, Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen."

Places named in the grant.

Now let us examine the names of the places mentioned in the copper plate. The place, to which the grant belongs, is the village of Akār in Khandesh. There is no doubt about the reading of the name 'Khāndesh' as given in the plate. Khandesh formed one of the several *subāhs* in the Mughal times. "It was one of the countries that was lately constituted a *subah* by Akbar. According to the *Āin-i-Akbari*, Khandesh was named Dandesh by Akbar after its conquest. It says "Dānyāl (a son of Akbar) was appointed governor of the newly conquered territory, which was called by Akbar Dāndesh (a combination of the words Dānyāl and Khandesh)." (Blochmann's *Translation*, Vol. I, p. 336 and n. Nawab Samṣamu-d-Daulāh's MS. says the same thing.)

بتوجهہ عرش آشیاني چون قلعہ آسیر مفتوح گشت ایں ملک
بشاہزادہ دانیال مفوضي گردیہ از آن روبہ داندیش شہرت
یافت

The village of Akār, to which the grant of land refers, is described as belonging to the *subāh* of Khandesh and to the *sarkār* of Mulhir. Akār is spoken of as a fort.

A *subāh* or province in Mughal times was divided, as said above, into several *sarkārs* or districts. The *sarkār* of the grant is Mulhir. It is variously written as Moolir, Molir, or Mālir (*Elloit* III, 256, VII, 66, 309, 311, 312, 472). "It lies about half way a little west of a line drawn from Chāndor to Nandurbar (*Ibid.*, VII, p. 66, n.1). Mulhir and Sālhir are said to be the strongest of the forts of Baglāna (*Ibid.*, 66). The Hyderabad MS. also speaks of it as a *qasbāh*.

The two words after the name of the *sarkār* seem to be *Khujastā bunyād*", *i. e.*, "Auspicious foundation." We come across some words of praise or good auspices in connection with places in other writings also. For example "*Bandar-i-mubārak-i-Surat*", *i. e.*, "the auspicious port of Surat." Aurangbād is spoken of as *Khujastā bunyād* (*Elliot* VII, 194, 256, 305).

1 *Āin-i-Akbari*, translated by Jarret, Vol. II, p. 114 n. and p. 115.

The *sarkārs*, which are sub-divisions of a *subāh*, were in Mughal times divided into *parganāhs* or provinces. The province of Kālna is spoken of in the State MS. as being in the possession of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. In one place, it is spoken of as *maḥall*, and in another, as *sarkār* (*Elliot* VI, p. 102). It was taken by Abul Fazl in the 46th year of Akbar's reign. Its governors are spoken of as *qal'adars* (*Ma'asiru-l-Umarā* of Nawab Samsamu-d-Daulah, Shâh Nawâz Khân, edited by Maulavi Mirza Ashraf Ali (1891, Vol. III, p. 117, l-18 ; p. 420, ll. 5-6). The word before this name may possibly be '*rud*', *i.e.*, river, because in the State MS. we read of *Āb-i- Kālna.*

The name of the person granting the land is Pir Paulad. This word occurs thrice in the plate. The first time on the right-hand top-corner, where it is written پیر لاد without the three *nuktāhs* or dots under the second *pe* ; the second time in the first line, where it is properly written with the *nuktāhs* as پیر پولاد ; the third time in the third line, where it occurs without the *nuktāhs* as in the right-hand top-corner. The name is that of a Muhammadan. We learn from *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* that Paulād[1] was a Muhammadan name. We do not know who he was. We know of one Pīr connected with Khāndesh. He was Pīr Muhammad Khān of Shirwān, referred to in the *Āin-i-Akbari* (No. 20) in the list of the Grandees of the Mughal Empire. "Pīr Muhammad was a Mullā, and attached himself to Bairam in Qandahār. Through Bairām's influence he was raised to the dignity of Amir on Akbar's accession . . . . . Whilst in Gujarāt, Pīr Muhammad heard of Bairām's disgrace, and returned at once to Akbar, who made him a Khān. In 968, he was appointed with Adham Khān to conquer Mâlwah . . . . . In 969, he defeated Bāz Bahādur. . . . . He then made a raid into Khāndes, which was governed by Mīrān Muhammad Shāh, (and) sacked the capital Burhānpūr."[2] He perished while crossing the Narbadah at night when defeated by Bāz Bāhadur. Possibly the Pīr Paulād of our plate was a descendant of this Pīr. Or, perhaps, this Pīr Paulad may be a descendant of the Pir Roshanais of King Akbar's time. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*,[3] thus speaks of this Pīr : "In former times,[4] a Hindustani soldier had come among

The Grantor.

1 *Pulad Turk bacha, Elliot*, Vol. IV, pp. 68-79.

2 Blochmann's *Translation*, Vol. I, p. 324. See also the *Ma'asiru-l-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 69, 71, 390, 615, Vol. II, p. 765.

3 *Elliot*, Vol. V, pp. 450-51.

4 "Twenty-five years before this (994 Hijrī)," *i.e.*, in 969. *Badaoni*, translated by Lowe, Vol. II, p. 360.

the Afghans and set up a, heritical sect.[1] He induced many foolish people to become his disciples and he gave himself the title of Pir Roshanāi. He was dead, but his son Jalāla, a youth of about fourteen, came in the year 989 H. to wait upon the Emperor as he was returning from Kabul. He was kindly received ; but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to take flight, and go off to the Afghans. There he raised disturbances, and gathering a good number of men around him, he shut up the roads between Hindustan and Kabul. In order to repress this base sect of Roshanais, whose baseness will be hereafter described, His Majesty placed Kunwar Man Singh in command and gave him Kābul in Jagir." Later on, we read that " Saiyid Hamid Bukhāri, formerly one of the nobles of the Sultans of Gujarat . . . . . was sent to Peshawar for the repression of the Roshanai sectaries. They had assembled about 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse to attack him. He and a few men who were with him at the time fought and perished. The Emperor sent Zain Khan Koka and . . . . . with a large force to subdue these heretics, who occupied the Khaibar Pass, and closed the road between Kabul and Hindustan. Kunwar Man Singh marched from Kabul and attacked and defeated them in the Khaibar and put a great many of them to the sword. He then occupied Jamrud and left a detachment in the Khaibar. The adjective applied to Pīr Paulād, *Lāmi ānwar, i.e.*, brilliant in rays," suggests that possibly he was either one of the descendants or one of the sect of Pīr Roshnāī, because the word, *Roshnā'i'* also means 'luminous'. That this Pīr Paulād was a man of some consequence, appears from the use of the word '*Huzur*' before his name.

The terms Bhils, Mori, Nāik, etc., mentioned in the Grant.

In the grant where the names of the holders of the lands are mentioned, we find the terms Bhil, Mori, Nāik and Patel. We will now see what are the significations of these words. The words Patel and Nāik are referred to in Captain Graham's Paper entitled "*Historical Sketch of the Bhil Tribes inhabiting the Province of Khāndesh.*" [3] Patels were the heads of villages. The Nāiks were the chiefs of the village Bhils. Formerly, " the chief Nāiks of the Purguna, on the occurrence of a vacancy, had the right of appointing the Jagla (watchman) ; but from long possession, the

[1] *Mazhab-i-ilahad wa zandaqa* (Capt. Lees and Munshi Ahmed Ali's Text of the Mubtakhab-al-Tawārikh (1865) Vol. II., p. 349 l. 6.

[2] *Elliot* V., p. 445.

[3] *See* " *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*," No. XXVI, New Series pp. 201, *et seq.*

village occupation in time became hereditary, and the watchmen, as members of the community, were bound alone to obey the Patel, the head of the village."[1]

In the History of Khāndesh we find mention of several Bhil Nāiks.[2] The word *Nāyak* seems to have been a titular word in the Mughal times. We read of the 'Nāyak of Mysore' in some of the papers of the English Factories.[3]

The *Khāndesh Gazetteer* says: "Khāndesh Bhils may conveniently be arranged under three groups: plain Bhils, hill and forest tribes, and mixed tribes . . . The large class of commoner plain Bhils and most of the wilder hill and forest tribes are broken into an endless number of small clans . . . . . such as Pavār, Mali . . . . . Mori."[4] The last word explains the use of the word Mori in the grant.[5]

"Among the plain Bhils disputes are generally settled by reference to a council (*panch*). Each of the wilder mountain tribes has an hereditary chief, *nāik*, some of whom were formerly men of great power, and were served by the Bhils with wonderful faithfulness. Each chief has an hereditary minister, *pradhān* or *chaudhri*, also a Bhil. As is the case with Mhārs and Māngs, Bhil organization is by districts and by single villages. The district pargana consists of a given area or group from ten to twenty villages, and, as its headman, the Nāik, receives through his minister all requests for arbitration committees, *panchs* . . ."[6]

"The present Khāndesh cultivators are Kunbis, Mhārs. . . . Bhils . . . . Bhils are found here and there tilling on their own account. Some of the younger Bhils take yearly service, *sāldāni*, with Kunbis and other cultivators, but most of them are small land-holders or hire fields from Gujar and other capitalists on the share, *gavānd*, principle. The land-holder gains most by the bargain. He provides the land and seed, and the Bhil, the labour, cattle and tools."

The present condition of the Bhil cultivator in the North-West of Khāndesh is special. There, the landlords are mostly Gujar capitalists,

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 205.

[2] *Khandesh Gazetteer*, pp. 423-24.

[3] *English Factories in India*, 1651-54, by William Foster (1915), Introduction, pp. XXV—XXXIII.

[4] *Khandesh Gazetteer*, p. 83.

[5] "Moori is a sub-class of the Bhils, but it is also an important clan of the Mahrattas, and as the same is called a Mahratta in the sanad the term refers to the "Mori" of the Mahrattas, not to that of the Bhills." Mr. G. Yazdani

[6] *Khandesh Gazetteer*, p. 93.

not peasant proprietors, and the Bhils were formerly contented to serve for clothes and food, liquor now and then, and a small sum of money whenever their children were married.[1]

The size of the holding referred to in the Grant.

Of the size of the holdings in Khāndesh, the *Khandesh Gazetteer* says: "In dry crop land, from two to four or five hundred acres is a large, from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty a middle sized, and from ten to twenty-five a small holding. In garden lands from twenty to forty acres is a large, from ten to twenty a middle sized, and less than ten a small holding . . . . . Fifty acres of dry crop land will, unless in seasons of failure of rain, support a husbandman, his wife, two children and one field labourer, *sāldār* comfortably without the money-lender's help."[2] Now, as the holding of the grant under consideration is for dry crop land, and as it consists of 60 bighas, *i. e.*, about 30 acres, it can be classed as a small holding.

The date of the Grant.

The figures which give the date of the Grant are not clear. First of all, one finds that the last figure, *i.e.*, the last on the right-hand side may stand for '2' or '7'. But the form of the figure '2' in the last line, in the figures for number 12, enables us to say, that it is not '2' but '7.' There is no doubt about the figure next to it. It is 1. Then there is long empty space between these two figures (17) and some other figure. From this gap one may hastily come to the conclusion that there is no other preceding figure, and that the Hijri year is simply 17. But the very fact that the plate cannot be so old as thirteen centuries before our time, leads us to lay aside that conclusion. And hence we are led to suspect that the form of some figure written with a flourish of the hand on the last letters of the word ﺳﻨﻪ must be a numeral. It looks like 'one.' The *nuktāh* of *nūn* in *sanat* seems to have been joined to it. This would give us the year of the tablet as 117 Hijri. But that date also is not at all acceptable, because the language of the grant does not show it to be of so remote from our time. We take it then that the writer has omitted some figure between 1 and 17. Which one? It would seem that if any figure has been omitted by the engraver of the plate, the chances are that he omitted a zero, because that consists of a single dot like the *nuktāhs* or dots which he often omitted elsewhere. So, we take it, that the figure between 1 and 17 is zero. Thus the year may be 1017. The form of the figure over the last letters of the word

1 *Ibid.*, p. 197.
Khandesh Gazetter, pp. 136-37.

sanat may be read as 9. In that case we must not look for any omitted figure between 9 and 17; otherwise, the number would be nine thousand some unknown hundred and 17. All these considerations give us the following two dates more or less probable :—

917 Hijri.
1017 Hijri.

Which of these two is the correct date? It seems that it is 1017. The Muhammadan date of the month and the day of the week help us to the conclusion. The day of the week mentioned is *Panj shanbāh, i.e.*, Friday, and the date is the 12th and the month is Shā'ban. Now we find as a matter of fact, that in 1017 the twelfth of Shā'bān was Friday. This settles our doubts and fixes the date.

The condition of Khāndesh in Hijri 1017, which seems to be the date on the copper plate, was rather unsettled. "The Mughals (in 1600) found the Bhils hardworking and loyal subjects and under the Mughals they seem to have continued quiet and orderly."

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1 I am indebted to my friend Mr. Meherjibhoy Nusserwanji Kuka for kindly calculating the corresponding dates, which he gives as follows :—

"Muhammadan date 12th Shā'bān.

A.H.		A.D.		
917	=	4th November, 1511	=	Tuesday.
1017	=	11th November, 1608	=	Friday."

This settles the question that as the 12th of Shā'bān was on Friday in 1017, the copper plate grant is of the Hijri year 1017 = A.D. 1608, the time of King Jahangir.

APPENDIX TO THE PAPER ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE SUEZ CANAL.

When I wrote my Paper on the Ancient History of the Suez Canal, I could not procure a copy of Aristotle's work (Meteorologics, I, 14) which refers to the Canal. I am much indebted to Father Zimmermann for kindly sending me thereafter the following translation of the passage.

FROM ARISTOTLE, METEOROLOGICS, I., 14.

"The whole country of the Egyptians whom we consider to be the oldest nation, appears as artificial in the sense of being the work of the river. A mere look at the country will show this. The same is clearly proved by the tract of land adjacent to the Red Sea. One of the kings tried to build a canal leading from the Red Sea to the Nile, thinking it would be of no small use to the whole tract of land between the two. Sesostris is given as the first in ancient times who undertook the work. But he found that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the land of Egypt. Hence Sesostris first and after him Darius stopped digging, less the (sweet) water of the Nile might be spoiled by the sea water which would be mixed with it. From this it follows that all that must once have been one continuous stretch of sea. For this same reason also Lybia, famous for Ammon's oracles is lower and hollower than the region below would lead you to expect. It is clear that, the filling up gradually taking place there appeared salt lakes and dry land. The former, of course, drying up more and more disappeared finally altogether. But also those (tracts) which reach to the Maoatic lake have through the alluviation of the rivers grown so much that nowadays only much smaller trading vessels are able to enter it than 60 years before."

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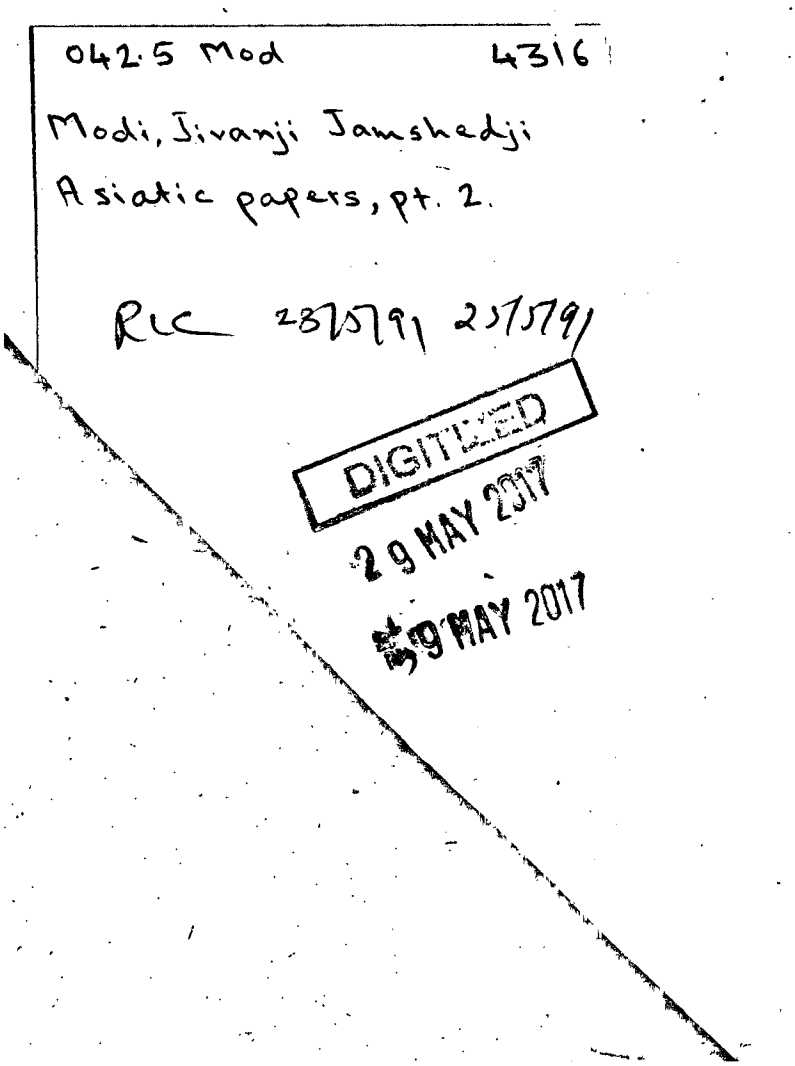

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